Author:
Barrera Moreno, Diana E

Title:
Creating Opportunities for the Emergence of Intergenerational Communities of Practice Using Place-based Storytelling and Technologies

Creating Opportunities for the Emergence of Intergenerational Communities of Practice Using Place-based Storytelling and Technologies

Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in the Faculty of Social Science and Law, School of Education, February 2020.

Word Count: **79, 600**

Abstract

Considering rapid sociotechnical change and increasingly ageing societies we are seeing widening social divides between generations. In this context of demographic and sociotechnical advancements there is a need to explore whether, how and in what ways we might make the best use of technological resources to encourage intergenerational activities, relations, and understandings, which might in turn, generate more promising intergenerational futures and a more reflexive society. This study enquires into the processes of creating intergenerational spaces using place-based storytelling and technology with older and younger adults living in Bristol. Having carried out an exploratory pilot I saw the substantial potential of further investigating this topic. Based on the findings of this pilot I attempted to include participants' voices as much as possible following an Action Research design. I then adapted the designed experience with intergenerational groups in two different settings: a secondary school and an extra care home. Initially I proposed to co-create with participants a digital version of their stories to sustain the archive of an existing interactive online mapping tool. After the school cycle, I incorporated different tools to digitize the place-based stories. I used the framework of Communities of Practice to study the possibilities of enabling intergenerational encounters, relations and understandings with a focus on intergenerational practice. The data collected through observations, focus groups, interviews and the creation of digital stories has been analysed using thematic analysis. I found that place-based storytelling is one way to design for intergenerational relationships to emerge. In addition to that, a more participative design better encouraged and engaged the older and younger adults. Institutional boundaries can be both an obstacle to overcome or a welcomed safeguarding measure. Finally, intergenerational relationships are not free from tensions, but it is through negotiation that more reciprocal relations between different generations can emerge.

Acknowledgements and Dedication

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Helen Manchester and Dr. Julia Paulson for their patient and relentless support throughout my journey, because they believed in me and encouraged me to keep going. I wish to thank Prof. Sheila Trahar and Dr. Kate Hawkey whose feedback at my progression panel helped me steer my study in the right direction. I would like to pay my special regards to my participants and administrative staff who were ever so helpful in the different phases of this project. Also, I would like to thank Prof. Susan Robertson, Prof. Roger Dale and Dr. Matt K for their support with developing my academic self in the early stages of my degree.

I wish to thank all the people whose assistance was a milestone. Running the risk of leaving names out of this list, I will venture to assert that people missing from this record should be interpreted as an ephemeral lapse of memory.

Thank you: Dra. QueenBea and Madam Tanya who lit the way with their bling. María Lucía, Jingwen and Miguel, who shared their wisdom with me. Dulce, for feeding my soul and providing a space for culinary explorations. Nam and Evelyn, who made sure I was well kept and focused. Ale, Maraki, Claudia P, Nathalie, Eleannita, Georgia, Ori, Rabanita Nancy, and Carmi for their loving care in spite of the physical distance between us. MaJita for walking alongside me when I was at my worst: I couldn't have done this without you. To the wonderful women in my life who otherwise held me in times of need in their different capacities: practitioners, fellows, and friends: May, Katy, Chloe, Tesni, Raquel, Debbie, Jo, Lauren, Ruth, Pauline, Tara, Jane, OnHee, Urim, Margarita, Ali, Janja, Claire, Leanne, Lynn, Lynne, Beryl, Hazel, Merve, Jeongeun, Duygu, Caro G, Caro V, Dani, Jill, Talisha, Ary, Rosy, Petri, Doña Beatriz, and other women I fail to name from the different women groups I've joined. To the other PhD candidates in the doctoral rooms at SoE, and friends in general.

Special thanks to my mother Celina and father Onésimo Sebastián for their lifetime commitment to see me thrive. Yendi, Doris, Darián, and Cyp for hosting me and cheering me up. General thanks to my family.

Financial support was provided by the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología- CONACyT (The Mexican National Council for Science and Technology) through the scholarship (409089). Additional funds were received from the International Hardship Fund at the University of Bristol.

Authors' Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: …… DATE: …….

Table of Contents

Abstract ... ii

Acknowledgements and Dedication ... iii

Authors' Declaration ... iv

Table of Contents ... v

List of Figures ... viii

List of Tables ... ix

List of abbreviations ... x

Chapter 1. Introduction: Demographic and sociotechnical changes: making a case for a qualitative research in Bristol ... 1

1.1 Demographic and social changes in today's world and the UK ... 1

1.1.1 Ageing societies: impending doom or a call to action? ... 2

1.1.2 Age and social division ... 3

1.1.3 Sociology of generation ... 4

1.1.4 Identities and their relationship with social division ... 6

1.2 Personal rationale ... 6

1.3 Technological development and society, mutually shaping each other ... 9

1.3.1 Technological divide and Social divides ... 10

1.4 Communities as a fertile ground for change ... 11

1.5 Research Aims and research Questions ... 13

1.5.1 Research questions ... 13

1.6 Research design overview ... 13

1.7 Outline of the dissertation ... 14

Chapter 2. Literature Review: The use of Place-based Intergenerational Programmes 14

2.1 A brief history of Intergenerational Studies: uniting Childhood and youth studies, and social gerontology ... 15

2.2 Intergenerational Programmes: An overview of practice, research and theory ... 20

2.2.1 Learning in intergenerational settings ... 21

2.2.2 Narratives and storytelling in intergenerational settings ... 26

2.2.3 Use of technology across generations ... 33

2.3 Learning, place-based storytelling and technology in intergenerational settings ... 37

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework ... 41

3.1 Communities of Practice ... 41

Learning ... 43

Practice **45**
Participation **47**
Reification **48**
Boundary objects and brokering **49**
Identity **50**
CoP criticism/critique **52**
3.2 Critical Pedagogy **53**
Critical pedagogy of place **54**
Place-responsive education **56**
3.3 Intergenerational + Learning + place-based storytelling + critical pedagogies **57**
Chapter 4. Research Design and Methodology **58**
4.1 Research questions **59**
4.2 Philosophical stance **59**
4.3 Research approach: Action Research **61**
4.4 Preparatory ethics discussion **65**
4.5 The study **66**
4.5.1 Exploratory pilot **67**
4.5.2 Bristol Secondary School Cycle – an unexpected choice **69**
4.5.3 BECR Cycle **84**
4.6 DATA ANALYSIS **90**
4.6.1 Thematic analysis **92**
4.7 Conclusion of the chapter **95**
Chapter 5. Findings from the Bristol-Secondary-School cycle **95**
5.1 Setting the scene at Bristol-Secondary-School **96**
5.1.1 The Storytelling Workshops **96**
5.1.2 Meet the participants **98**
5.2 The narrative and the community findings: Building rapport through critical dialogue and place-based storytelling **101**
Sharing stories: 'We can also teach you new stuff you don't know!' **101**
5.3 Technologies and mediation of intergenerational encounters findings **112**
Using technologies to explore and co-create: 'I can talk for England!' … Who is Sarah Guppy? **113**
5.4 Challenges and opportunities for intergenerational practice findings **120**
5.5 What I have learnt from this cycle to take into designing for the final cycle **128**
Chapter 6. Findings from the Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence cycle **130**
6.1 Setting the scene at Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence **131**

6.1.1 Meet the participants in the BECR cycle....131
6.1.2 Adapting the storytelling workshops....134
6.2 The narrative and the community findings: Building rapport through critical dialogue, sharing, and co-creating place-based storytelling....136
Storytelling at BECR sharing and co-creating....138
6.3 Technologies and mediation of intergenerational encounters findings....147
Mar and Hazel's 'Falling at first sight with Bristol' @Tangible Memories....149
George and Hayley's 'Flower Lady' @Map your Bristol....152
Macy: Bristol's time @ Personal blog....154
Dan: About Bristol @ Word....155
6.4 Challenges and opportunities for intergenerational practice findings....157
6.5 What I have learnt from this cycle....171
Chapter 7. Discussion....172
7.1 Narrative and the community: *Building rapport through place-based storytelling*....172
7.1.1 Key finding: Sharing and co-creating place-based stories to build rapport 173
7.2 Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters: *Boundary objects and brokering*....176
7.2.1 Key finding: Technologies to explore and create....177
7.2.2 Key finding: Facilitating....178
7.3 Challenges and opportunities: *Considerations*....179
7.3.1 Key finding: Social opportunities and challenges....180
7.3.2 Key finding: technological challenges and opportunities....181
7.3.3 Key finding: methodological and theoretical challenges and opportunities181
Chapter 8. Conclusions and recommendations....181
8.1 Limitations of the study....183
8.2 Recommendations: What to look out for when designing for Intergenerational Programmes.....184
REFERENCES....185
APPENDIX A....209
APPENDIX B....216
APPENDIX C....220
APPENDIX D....226
APPENDIX E....228
APPENDIX F....233

List of Figures

Figure 1. Components of a social theory of learning (Wenger, 1998, p. 5).....43
Figure 2. AR-PAR continuum. 63
Figure 3. Action research design 64
Figure 4. Inside of the leaflet. 71
Figure 5. A snippet of the nodes created using Nvivo12 91
Figure 6. Sketch of the BSS library layout. 97
Figure 7. Images of younger and older adults featured in the questionnaire. 102
Figure 8. A day with friends at Cabot Circus drawing rendition. 105
Figure 9. Clifton Suspension Bridge facts and drawing by Vera.....114
Figure 10. Scarlett's rendering of 'Child by the River'.....114
Figure 11. Participants using Map your Bristol.....115
Figure 12. Map your Bristol screen 116
Figure 13. Sketch of the layout of the ‘Memory Room’ at BECR.....132
Figure 14. Mar’s view of hot air balloons 139
Figure 15. Hazel's wedding invitation and photographs 140
Figure 16. Participants on session 2 (left) and participants on session 4 (right) 142
Figure 17. Mar and Hazel discussing their digital stories (left) Hazel and Mar digitising their story using Tangible Memories (right).....150
Figure 18. Hazel and Mar´s digital story using Tangible Memories app: the shell-shaped icons indicate audio recordings attached to the images. 151
Figure 19. Hayley drawing George's stories (left) George telling story for Map your Bristol digitised by Hayley(right) 152
Figure 20. Haley and George’s ‘Flower Lady’ 153
Figure 21. Macy’s blog about the two-minute-hands clock.....155
Figure 22. Dan's story: About Bristol 156
Figure 23. Macy and Dan planning the creation of digital stories 157

List of Tables

Table 1. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities.....65
Table 2. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities (BSS cycle) 70
Table 3. Detailed plan of the activities with dates. 76
Table 4. BSS cycle data collection.....77
Table 5. Observation framework.....82
Table 6. Field notes sample.....82
Table 7. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities (BECR cycle).....85
Table 8. Detailed plan of the activities for the intervention 88
Table 9. BECR cycle data collection.....89
Table 10. Example of data analysis from the pilot.....93
Table 11. Research questions, and theoretical framework.....93
Table 12. School cycle initial plan for data analysis. Research questions and triangulation. .94

List of abbreviations

AR	Action research
BECR	Bristol Extra Care Residence
BO	Boundary object
BSS	Bristol Secondary School
CoP	Communities of Practice
CT	Critical theory
FoK	Funds of Knowledge
IGS	Intergenerational Studies
KyB	Know Your Bristol
MyB	Map Your Bristol
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PMSV	Providence Mount Saint Vincent

Chapter 1. Introduction: Demographic and sociotechnical changes: making a case for a qualitative research in Bristol

My thesis is concerned with the creation of opportunities for the emergence of intergenerational spaces with place-based storytelling in Bristol, UK.

In this chapter, I introduce the context and background of the problem of a perceived intergenerational divide globally and in the UK. I begin by presenting the demographic context which shows a global projection of increased numbers of older people in the years to come. I bring into the picture the social and technological developments that exist alongside the interplay of society and technology. Next, I provide more detail on how technological advancements and age play an important role in social inequality and then problematise these sociotechnical changes relative to the ageing societies in the UK. This discussion is followed by my personal rationale, which brings the study to Bristol with the addition of my focus on storytelling. I put forward the aims of the research that led to my research questions, which explore the development of intergenerational relationships through place-based storytelling, and I look at the role of technological tools in this process. I give a brief overview of the research design with an action research approach that takes into account my critical theory stance. Finally, I finish the chapter with an outline of the dissertation.

1.1 Demographic and social changes in today's world and the UK

It has been argued that the way humankind has evolved from a hunter-gatherer society into today's information age is characterised by these societies' modes of production (Castells, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). In 2006, Van der Zee observed that the world today is characterised by globalisation, ageing societies, new technological designs, knowledge explosion, changes in relationships between children, men and women, and the co-existence of different ethnic and cultural groups (Van der Zee, 2006); nearly 15 years later, his observation still stands. Dominicé (2007) identified a strong necessity for the ability to learn and relearn in today's world in order to cope with the demands of an ever-changing environment.

Notably, demographic fluctuations are intimately related with societal phenomena (Hauser, 1959; Hoffmann-Nowotny, 2000), and the different ways in which the changing structure (e. g. births, deaths, migration) of human populations interact with society have been observed. Changes to human populations that are interact with education include forces of migration (Adams & Kirova, 2006; Robertson, 2009) and generational change (Hannay & Fretwell, 2011; Manion & Joyce, 2015).

Similarly, significant for this study is the argument that technology and society mutually shape each other (Castells, 2000c; Wacjman, 2002), and this project is guided by the understanding that societies are inevitably shaping and being shaped by digital technologies (Castells, 2000a, 2000b, 2004; Hackett et al., 2008; Wacjman, 2002). Thus, in this section I will explore in more detail the relationship between the current demographic and sociotechnical changes to highlight the relevance of my study.

1.1.1 Ageing societies: impending doom or a call to action?

The main demographic drivers of population change are fertility, mortality, and international migration and from these trends that shape population size and age structure, the levels of mortality and fertility have both shown a consistent global decline. In this regard, one of the most notable shifts today is the increase in life expectancy (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division [UN], 2019), as the influence of scientific and technological developments have brought about reduced mortality, particularly among young children. Additionally, improvements in education and those same scientific and technological developments which allow women to access sexual and reproductive health care, including family-planning, have tended to coincide with decreasing fertility levels. On a global scale, fertility rates have dropped in many countries over the last decades, and the World Population Prospects (UN, 2019), has projected a global fertility decrease from 2.5 children per woman in 2019 to 2.2 in 2050. The combination of the falling trends of both births and deaths has contributed to a sharp increase in life expectancy, which has been projected to remain growing steadily. Already by 2012, the United Nations (UN, 2012) observed that the worldwide population of people aged 60 was the fastest growing demographic, and UN (2019) records have confirmed that this trend has continued on; it was only in 2018 that the population of adults 65 years and older outnumbered children under five, setting a new milestone in history. The populations of most countries are ageing at a fast pace. In the more developed regions of the world, and particularly in the UK, 23% of the population has already reached or surpassed the 60-year threshold. According to the National Population Projections (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2019), the number of people of older age are expected to be the largest population in the UK by 2042, which can be partially explained as baby boomers born in the 1960s will reach 80 years of age at that time and they continue to experience increased life expectancy; similarly, in the UK, the number of people aged 85 years and over, which was 1.6 million in 2018, will double to 3.0 million by 2043 (ONS, 2019). Furthermore, as improvements in survival are expected to continue (with the caveat of COVID19), it has been estimated that the size of the over-65 population will double that of children under five, and in that same time span, the number of persons aged 65 and over will be larger than that of young people aged 15-24 years.

Debates are ongoing regarding the 'positive' or 'negative' consequences of the phenomenon of ageing societies. Even to this day, mainstream economist channels claim that the aforementioned demographic trends will result in a collapsed economy (e. g. see Jones, 2020; Romei, 2020). However, there have been more nuanced discussions around the impact of demographic changes. For example, Simcox (1998) challenged the 'negative' impact of ageing societies by analysing different social configurations. Simcox's argument was that demographic trends affect the economy of the elites; and he observed that concerns around ageing as a negative force in economy originated from capitalist analyses of demographic trends. Simcox examined the capitalist logic in relation to the social security system in the US and drew parallels with schemes of fraudulent investing scams, thus demystifying the origin of worries regarding an economic 'collapse' for our ageing societies. Further to this argument, O'Sullivan, Ricciardi, and Roth (2019) have suggested that while demographic trends bring changes and challenges, these 'difficulties' are not unsurmountable nor akin to the downfall of societies; the authors argued that the effects of ageing populations will be beneficial for both the natural environment and social equality.

My personal stance on this matter is more in line with that of Simcox (1998) and O'Sullivan et al. (2019): I too see the ageing population phenomena in a nuanced light. I recognise that hard work and commitment will be required from general society in order to adapt and devise new ways of facing the challenges ahead (discussed in forthcoming sections). Essentially, I consider this phenomena of ageing societies as an opportunity for finding new ways of living. This exploration, from my perspective, needs to be a collective effort, since humans are inherently social and depend on each other to further our existence and to flourish as individuals as well as a society (Alheit & Dausien, 2007). In the current scenario, social dynamics require a renewed approach that will facilitate building connections in order to make the most of our interdependence. And societies that want to successfully function will have to address the needs of their communities and work towards the integration of individuals within their local neighbourhoods (Chonody & Wang, 2013; Gruenewald, 2003a; Mannion & Adey, 2011; Stevenson, 2008). Thus, in order to conceptualise a way forward, it is important to examine in more detail what challenges are posed and experienced by ageing societies.

1.1.2 Age and social division

Age has long been understood to denote a natural stage of the life cycle without recognition of the unconscious bias about different age groups that have been commonly held in our society (Payne, 2013). Only recently has *age* been reconsidered as a social construct in the social sciences. Age as a social construct implies that there are different understandings, values, and stereotypes attached to age and age groups, which fluctuate in time and space.

According to Wyn and White (1997), the notions of ageing and the roles assigned to people based on their age differ across societies and cultures (p. 10, cited in Hopkins and Pain, 2007, p. 287). As a result of these socially-constructed views and expectations, people's understandings and experiences of age may vary in the extreme; for example, determining how a 'normal' childhood (Gottlieb, 2015; Montgomery, 2006, 2009) or a 'normal' older aged period (Berman et al., 2007; Williams & Giles, 1991) would look depend on the criteria used for the definition of diverse categories of 'normality'. As Vincent and Phillips (2013) have pointed out, different societies prioritise aspects of age that are embedded in their culture. For example, in societies that do not systematically record age, people may measure time with reference to personal, social, and/or historical events, such as having children, a time of war, or significant floods, to name a few potential age markers. Based on those knowledge systems, people may not know their age precisely according to a 365-day Gregorian calendar, but they would still be able to differentiate age strata. In other societies, including the United Kingdom, age is measured in terms of the number of years counted from one's birth (for an in-depth discussion of age, see Gubrium & Holstein, 1999, 2000; Hockey & James, 1993; Jenks, 1996; Phillipson, 1998; Wells, 2015).

Throughout the development of our societies, categories have been generated and utilised which organise life and create a sense of meaning and shared understanding (Payne, 2013). Historically, the most common categories have been age, sex, class, and race. For example, by observing how many babies are born in any given year, statisticians have a reference to later analyse phenomena related to how many of those children go on to complete their education and obtain a university degree, thus providing data to inform policy making. Creating categories based on biological facts has been useful in general to grasp concepts that would be otherwise difficult to understand. Nevertheless, these categories have been imbued with cultural values which in turn, have been reified into social hierarchies that determine social status, subsequently creating social inequalities. While the historical background of social inequality based on sex or race is well documented, age has only been recently recognised as a factor for social inequalities (Valentine, 2015; Zick et al., 2011), with both older adults and younger people facing discrimination and prejudice. However, they are unlikely to unite within and across their cohorts: they have been pitted against each other, further feeding from and into age-related biases and leaving both cohorts at the mercy of the dominant age-groups who are 'in charge' (Vincent & Phillips, 2013). Thus, scholars (Dominic, 2007), have suggested the importance of better relationships between generations.

1.1.3 Sociology of generation

Although at first sight, ‘generation’ may seem a straightforward concept, there has been contentious debate around what this term encompasses. Scherger (2012) and Vanderbeck and Worth (2015) have highlighted the importance of discussing the assumptions that accompany this concept, and so have a better way forward in conducting empirical research. In this study, the way in which ageing and generations are interpreted takes into account how these experiences of ageing are reflected in peoples’ lives and their understanding of age. My understanding of age as socially constructed has influenced the definition of age and generation I am utilising in this study. In the following paragraphs, I will explain how I arrived at the definition used in the present work.

In her critical review of the use of ‘generation’ in sociological research, Scherger (2012) explored how different characteristics, such as resources, behaviours, and attitudes (among other aspects) have been used to claim the existence of a generation as a defined collective. Similarly, as it has been discussed in this introduction, age has been used to define collectives which then determine social roles, privileges, and responsibilities that are intrinsic to those age-groups. ‘Generation’ has been used to refer to different phenomena ordering people into groups (Buckingham, 2011; Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2007; Phillipson, 2010) based on: a) their age, or stage in life; b) their time of birth as part of a cohort within a sociocultural context; and c) their time of birth as part of a ranked system within their family. Given the context explained in this introduction, including the phenomena of a rapidly ageing population and the context of highly industrialised societies in which people are far more likely to be living away from their families and places of origin, I am also interested in age as one form of social division. Hence, in this study, my use of the word ‘generation’ is in relation to the first phenomena (age or stage in life) because the focus of this research project is on the relationship between people of different age groups that do not necessarily have family ties amongst them. The age groups considered in this study have thus been defined by the stage in life.

There are generalised assumptions based on portrayals of age that feed into age-related stereotypes. The issue with the existence and prevalence of negative stereotypes is that they constrain positive engagement between the older adults and young people in the UK who, due to the lack of intergenerational spaces (Facer et al., 2014), carry on with their lives believing that the other groups are of little or no interest to them (Feldman et al., 2003) or are simply a nuisance (Smith, 2009). Nevertheless, it is precisely this divergence that also makes our societies diverse and acts as a testament to the rich tapestry of individual and social identities available.

1.1.4 Identities and their relationship with social division

The term 'identity' can be viewed in the interplay between individuals and the communities they belong to, creating a multitude of selves that are still the same individual responding to different stimuli.

Different aspects of who we are and how we interact with the world around us are contingent on our personal histories in relation to our socio-economic status, the geography that surround us, and more generally the spatial-temporal dimension in which we were born and live our lives. It is this intersection of various characteristics that together define a person's and group identities (Payne, 2013). It has been suggested that accounting for the intersection of various aspects of an individual's identity in our analysis offers a richer understanding of social phenomena. Through different aspects of our identity, we might build affinity and belonging with and to different social circles. It has been argued that the state of belonging or not belonging may feed into social division and, in the most extreme cases, hostility (Jackson & Scott, 2013; Payne, 2013). Since these identity categories permeate the existence of our lives individually and collectively, there is no single descriptive characteristic that will fully describe who we are. Thus, our selves are revealed to be a complex layering of denominators. For example, I am a Mexican 'young' (or old, depending on the context) female researcher, and while all of those characteristics could be used to define me to a certain degree, they are still only parts of myself, and most of these characteristics are in a state of constant change (identities will be further discussed in Chapter 3).

Notably, the general views that a researcher holds will shape how a study is conducted, from problematising a given phenomenon to addressing its possible solutions. Therefore, researchers must examine their own underlying assumptions (Mertens, 2010) so that the research can be better contextualised. In the next section I give a short introduction of my personal story and then explain how my decisions have been informed by my philosophical position along the research journey.

1.2 Personal rationale

Since my childhood, I have always admired my grandparents and great grandparents. To me, they led fulfilling lives and enjoyed their adulthood as strong, healthy, and independent individuals even in their last days. My father's grandparents lived nearly up to 95 years and my mother's father also died in his 90s. Even in the short time that I spent with them, we shared joyous and enriching moments. Through our interactions, I learnt of their experiences and what they endured during difficult times in the history of Mexico, such as the Mexican revolution (1910-1920) and the Cristero war (1926-1929). From our experience together, I

hold onto these salient memories and can say that I have learned invaluable lessons of life. Upon reflection on the conversations we had, I think they helped me to understand who they were as individuals and my own identity as a member of our family. Also, I began to see how the sociohistorical context impacted our lives as individuals, as a family and, at a larger scale, as a society.

I start my story with recall of a certain day in Iguala, Guerrero when I was a young child.

I am three years old. It is a regular day visiting my great grandparents for the holidays. The air is dry and I cannot stand the heat, but I am happy to see Awelita Chanita, who is my great grandmother, my dad's grandmother. She is in the kitchen. Beans are being cooked in a pot on her stove burner. I try to peep by standing on my tiptoes, but the pot is higher than the level of my head. All I can see is the fire with its blue flames embracing the base of the enamel stockpot. I can only guess from the smell that it is black beans with epazote. She comes and stirs from time to time. My brother is running around with a toy car in his right hand and a toy wrestler in the left. He runs to my sister, who is sitting by the weeping fig tree in the backyard of the house. I am in charge of buying groceries and meat. I go to my grandmother's market stall, which is located wherever she is in the house. She receives three grains of rice as payment for a "poond o' beif". I walk to my great grandfather, who puts the broomstick to the side so I can buy from him six kilos of mixed vegs: carrot, green beans, courgette, tomato, corn and chillies for the sauce. I ask for credit, as I only had one grain of rice, a nut without its bolt, and the button of a shirt left in my pocket. He smiled and packed the groceries next to my 2 kilos of tortillas in my blue invisible bag. I come back to my sister with all the ingredients for our mud cake. My brother is back with news that all invitees to the birthday party of El Santo (the wrestler toy) had confirmed attendance. My siblings and I continue the preparation, all the while the two nonagenarians sway from one end of the house to the other dusting, sweeping, and mopping. Two hours later the voice of Awelita Chanita filled the room. She was telling us again the story of the flowers in her garden.

***

I was born in Mexico City, where I grew up and lived until the age of 26, when I moved to Bristol. As a child, I spent wonderful moments with my dad's grandmother. She cooked at the stove while my siblings and I passed along the groceries. She would intervene accordingly with our mud-cake making, all the while sweeping the yard, washing clothes and completing other house chores. This is how I remember her: an active woman who, at 95, was seamlessly going about with her life. I thought that this was a very common thing. Of course, she eventually died, but I did keep her memory as a blueprint of what being an older adult meant. Later, as I grew older, I found out that my relationship with her had been quite a privilege, as

not many people have had the chance to meet and interact with older adults in the manner that I have described. Fast-forward: I was working as an IT developer in the banking sector. When I completed an MSc in Education Technology and Society at the University of Bristol, I was faced with the decision of my doctoral research topic. I wanted people to experience the kind of relationship I had had with my great grandmother, and so I began shaping this research project.

Of course, my experiences with older adults in my life were not always positive. I was not always surrounded by happy or easy-going older adults. Some of these encounters were downright hurtful. One of the perceived problems from these experiences was a sense of being in a lower position in an invisible hierarchy, where the older adults had authority and power over me as a child. Nevertheless, I choose to focus on the positive encounters that brought about learning and joy, and building an environment of respect and good will can make the difference in the kind of relationships that can be formed between older adults and young people.

Having completed a Computing Engineering degree and worked for 4 years in the Information Technologies area, I gained experience solving common problems through developing technology. After that, in the time I spent in the Graduate School of Education of the University of Bristol pursuing the MSc in Education, Technology and Society, I acquired a background in social sciences and education. To me, these qualifications were meaningless if I cannot contribute towards the betterment of society. I was inspired to be involved in community programs that honoured social participation and engagement, which led me to find critical theory literature. I was convinced that this study represented an invaluable opportunity for me to help people start building long-lasting intergenerational relationships. Also, by collaborating and contributing to live interactions, I was hopeful that they will benefit everyone involved in the study, as well as the broader public, with the right dissemination.

Not very long ago, when I first arrived in Bristol in 2012, I was struck by the kindness of the people living in this place. In the city, I had repeatedly and unexpectedly encountered older adults and young people who have helped me in various ways, even though they did not know me. These experiences made me not only remember my family, but they also inspired me to crystallise the dream of a better society in a place which has given me such merriment: Bristol.

However, the phenomenon of intergenerational division is still real in this context. In this regard, Dominicé (2007) has argued that intergenerational connections are desperately needed, whether it is through the family or within the community.

Since I was volunteering at an extra care home facility, where I instructed and assisted people with the use of technology, my understanding of the current problems and potential within the older community and the use of technology has broadened. As a result, I perceived that there would be plenty of opportunities to connect people from different ages through the use of technology.

To this day, I sometimes wish I could have spent more time with Awelita Chanita and asked her more about her life. In family reunions, when my family and I talk about our late grandparents and great grandparents, they are remembered as active and involved in their local communities. Often, we wonder if their engagement with the neighbours as well as the family was what kept them strong and willing to enjoy life, regardless of their age. With these antecedents, I have looked forward to living in a society where all people – young and old – share the same space and contribute to each other's quality of life. I was certainly hopeful that with the advent of new technologies, this vision was attainable. Instead, it seems as though ever-changing technology is worsening the intergenerational gap, and it is more and more difficult to reconcile people from different age groups, especially those at the opposite ends of the spectrum. Towards this scenario, a number of scholars have called for action to utilise the potential that lies at the core of intergenerational encounters (Castells, 2000b; Dominicé, 2007; Phillipson, 2015). In addition, having observed that technology and society respond to one another, it is important to include technology in the picture I am describing.

1.3 Technological development and society, mutually shaping each other

Since the beginning of the 'information age' in the early 2000s, there have been concerns about the way people interact with technologies (Castells, 2000a, 2004). Regarding the relationship between people and technology, a number of studies have been conducted with results showing that age is a relevant factor in determining how people perceive and use technologies. For example, it has been highlighted that the acceptance and use of technology is prominent within groups of younger people, whereas the interactions and acceptance within groups of older adults are observed to a lesser degree (Al-Qeisi et al., 2014; Venkatesh et al., 2012). This is not to say that older adults are always reluctant to use technology, but rather that technology is not something they find particularly interesting (Hardill, 2015; Selwyn et al., 2003). For instance, Tarrant (2015) has suggested that provided there is a goal that drives their desires or needs, older adults will engage in using different types of technology including computers, mobile phones, and the internet.

Furthermore, as a result of sociotechnical developments, the interactions and relationships between people have also been affected, which can be observed again at both ends of the

age spectrum. For both young and old, their individual relationships with technology add to the complexity of intergenerational encounters (Castells, 2000b, 2004; Czaja et al., 2006).

1.3.1 Technological divide and Social divides

For research in intergenerational relationships, the important role technology might play in enhancing opportunities for intergenerational exchange should not be ignored; as it has been mentioned, technology is rooted deep within the dynamics of our current societies. However, it is also important to avoid the assumption that the mere *introduction* of a technological device into the lives of older adults can remedy the situation, as demonstrated by Tsai, Shillair and Cotten (2015). In that study, which investigated the improvement in older adults' quality of life as a result of using tablets, researchers found that in order for the devices to make any contribution, there are a number of conditions that have to be met: it was essential that people could use the tablets, that they found the activities engaging, and that the experience would result in actual maintenance in their quality of life. Similarly, Hardill (2015) and Tarrant (2015) both argued that human relationships influence older people's use of technology in various ways: sometimes existing relationships trigger the use of technology, while on other occasions, people develop new relationships with those who assist them in their technological pursuits. People also engage with technology to create new relationships (e.g. through online communities) or to re-establish lost connections (e.g. through email and social media). Therefore, technology use can be the target, the basis, or the means that people use to make and sustain their relationships.

Thus far, I have argued the mutually binding relationship between society and technology. The next logical step is to look at the implications of social divides in the technological realm. Researchers in previous studies have observed that the already-existing intergenerational gap has worsened because of the difficulties older people face in adapting to ever-changing technologies, which contributes to the social exclusion of some older people, who become neglected and detached from society (Gouthro, 2006; Selwyn, 2004; van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). Social divides have also been related to the reproduction of stereotypes that hinder communication between young and old as each group holds distorted views of the other (Cohen, 2002; Vincent & Phillips, 2013). The relevance of addressing this intergenerational conflict becomes more visible when we take into account the development of social structures in the near future as a result of demographic change.

According to van Dijk and Hacker (2003) there are four types of obstacles that give rise to the digital divide that entails access and use of technologies. These barriers are:

1. *Lack of elementary digital experience* caused by lack of interest, computer anxiety, and unattractiveness of the new technology ("mental access").

2. *No possession of computers and network connections* ("material access").

3. Lack of *digital skills* caused by insufficient user-friendliness and inadequate education or social support ("skills access").

4. Lack of significant *usage opportunities* ("usage access"). (pp. 315-6, emphasis in original)

In addition, Lee and Wang (2019) have further argued that inclusion and exclusion in social and media networks potentially foster structural inequality which can produce a feedback loop, widening of both the social divide between generations and the corresponding digital divide.

I found this phenomenon problematic, especially given my personal experience as illustrated earlier in the chapter, and I set out to get involved in changing that reality. Through running this project, I realised the importance of my participation in it. From the point of its conception, I had a vision and this vision emerged from my own personal story, and I sought ways in which I could integrate my knowledge with practical solutions that would benefit the community.

1.4 Communities as a fertile ground for change

It has been pointed out previously that age as a social division stems from the extent to which age is used as a tool for social differentiation: the criteria used, and the values attached to these criteria (Payne, 2013). Furthermore, the scarcity of intergenerational spaces impacts the control people have to create an image of and for themselves, which results in the reinforcement of negative views (Wenger, 1998), which are often portrayed in mainstream media (Grant, 1985). As a result, stereotypes are further reified and intergenerational participation is constrained.

The implications of sociotechnical changes are manifest, for example in the intergenerational gap and its replication in the digital realm. In the light of these phenomena, Cross-Durrant (2006) and Johnston (2006) emphasised the relevance of education, in the broad sense of the word, as a cornerstone to strengthen links between the diverse generational groups in our high technology world. Thus, we need to realise that in response to social divisions a new tactic to generate solutions is much needed to fulfil these evolving demands. There has been an increasing interest in bringing together different generations, but much more can be done at the level of the community (Bernard & Phillips, 2000; Springate et al., 2008). In recent years, the initiative All-Age-Friendly-City has set a precedent for the sociotechnical dynamics of the future (Facer et al., 2014). However, there is a dire need for the creation of more spaces that can be lived and enjoyed by old and young alike, where people across generations share experiences and interact with one another (Phillipson, 2015; Tarrant, 2015; VanderVen &

Schneider-Munoz, 2012). Here I noted there is a need for empirical research which will analyse the operations of those spaces. The theoretical concepts used within the Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998) approach provide sufficient analytical tools for enquiring into the learning process that pertained to community building. From a CoP perspective, COP are formed amongst groups of people who join efforts in doing things together and address the integration of individual lifeworlds into a collective enterprise, which could be applied to creating and sustaining intergenerational communities.

Due to the lack of intergenerational spaces, media plays a key role in presenting and representing people because of its accessibility and pervasiveness. The problem with this is that media is controlled by institutions in power who fabricate reality (Chomsky, 2002; Herman & Chomsky, 2010), but Carr and Kemmis (1986, p. 136) have suggested that this reality-making process can be brought back to people, which connects with the participatory nature of critical pedagogies (Freire, 1996). I further add that through critically reviewing our meaning-making processes, this new reality-making assumption can foster change in the longer term, provided that we start now and begin the opening of spaces for critical reflection and dialogue that precede action and change (Freire, 1972).

Seeing the picture that I have described, I wanted to get involved and respond to the problem I found. Therefore, by doing this study, my goal was to create new intergenerational spaces in order to reconnect older and younger people in Bristol through digital technology.

I perceived a missed opportunity for different generations to engage in meaningful interactions. I was interested in looking at how society could create a more fertile environment for relationships between older adults and young people, which brought me to select my topic of interest: intergenerational encounters in the UK. In the literature, I had identified the existence of social divisions between different age-groups in our ageing societies and how these divisions seem to be aggravated by a reduced number of intergenerational spaces (Facer et al., 2014; Manchester & Facer, 2015a).

From the literature, I learned that intergenerational practice has not been explored critically or with the consistent use of sound theoretical frameworks. In this thesis, I utilise a theoretical lens that draws on several theories in order to bring a critical approach to the study of intergenerational practice. Namely, I utilise Communities of Practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) and theories of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972; 2005) to set up an analytical frame that has helped me investigate the process of enabling sustained intergenerational relationships.

Additionally, I have chosen a methodological approach that responded to my commitment with community and my pursuit of meaningful change for participants involved in the research

project. I saw the potential of harnessing my theoretical lens with the methodological tools that action research (AR) offers.

1.5 Research Aims and research Questions

For this research, I planned to observe the impact of co-creating place-based stories in intergenerational relationships. I set out to observe the role of digital technology and the possibilities of creating intergenerational Communities of Practice. Thus, I intended to design an intervention using an interactive mapping tool that I thought would bring together people of different age groups to co-create digital stories based on personal narratives; which later incorporated new technologies for a final research cycle. The work can be summarised into the following research aims:

1. To explore the use of place-based storytelling in fostering intergenerational relationships.

2. To investigate the roles of technologies in the mediation of intergenerational relationships.

3. To identify areas of opportunity and difficulties faced for the design and implementation of an intergenerational programme.

After carrying out the literature review, I refined the research aims into research questions which have guided this study.

1.5.1 Research questions

RQ 1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?

RQ 2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?

RQ 3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?

1.6 Research design overview

This study explores the development of intergenerational relationships through place-based storytelling. Additionally, I look at the role of technological tools in this process. A number of research and community projects have addressed similar phenomena as separate issues and with different foci. I chose a participatory approach and designed an intervention using an Action Research methodology to inquire into the process of the emergence of an intergenerational Community of Practice. This intervention developed gradually from the initial pilot through to the two official research cycles. I first devised this study to take advantage of

a specific existing web application to support interactions among intergenerational groups, but this approach was later updated to be more open and encouraged the use of other digital tools. The study was based on a qualitative research design and took place in Bristol, UK.

From my work, I found that storytelling could be used to foster intergenerational relationships. Additionally, I observed the potential of using technologies as tools that enrich communications, with the caveat that their use should be responsive to the context. The main challenges are related to negotiation of tensions and the interplay of individual and social identities. The role of institutions is as gatekeepers who look after the interests of their communities, sometimes connecting them with other communities, and other times constricting their relationships. In sum, my contribution to the field is an exploration of bringing together Communities of Practice and critical pedagogies to understand the emergence of intergenerational relationships and designing interventions using storytelling and technologies with a participatory approach.

1.7 Outline of the dissertation

In this first chapter, I have explored the context of the research project, including my personal rationale, and built to the research questions presented. In the second chapter, I review the existing literature on Intergenerational Studies, storytelling, and the use of technology in intergenerational contexts. In the third chapter, I present my theoretical framework and explain how I have utilised the Communities of Practice theory alongside key concepts of critical pedagogies that have been useful for designing and inquiring into enabling intergenerational spaces. In Chapter 4, Methodology, I present my philosophical stance and rationale of the research design, which used a qualitative approach with seven older adult participants and seven younger participants at two research sites in Bristol, UK. Also, in this chapter, action research methodology is explained in the context of this study. In Chapters 5 and 6, I present the findings of the school cycle and the extra care home cycle, respectively. This presentation is followed by the Discussion Chapter, in which I critically engage with the literature and my theoretical framework to elucidate the findings. The final chapter consists of the conclusions of this research, and includes next steps for the field and some recommendations for practitioners and institutions.

In the following chapter, I present studies that are relevant to the present study along with the theoretical and conceptual perspectives that frame this piece of research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: The use of Place-based Intergenerational Programmes

In the previous chapter, I have identified three key elements of my research interest: intergenerational relationships, technology, and learning. I also have proposed the inclusion of place-based storytelling as a resource for connections. In this chapter, I argue for the relevance of narrative and place-based learning based on the lack of theory surrounding the existing intergenerational learning body of work within non-familial relationships. I propose the use of technological tools to carry out my intervention, drawing from existing literature on the use of technology for learning and in intergenerational contexts. Finally, after reviewing possible intersections within the literature for intergenerational studies, learning, and technology, I tie together all three main elements with a place-based storytelling approach.

Here, I present the literature review that I conducted in order to narrow down my research topic. I start the chapter with an overview of the history and evolution of intergenerational relationships as a scholarly subject. Secondly, I explore a selection of Intergenerational Programmes, including community projects and research projects that have incorporated learning, storytelling, place-based initiatives, and technology within intergenerational settings. I then discuss the background literature connecting intergenerational practice, narratives and the use of technologies.

2.1 A brief history of Intergenerational Studies: uniting Childhood and youth studies, and social gerontology

In the previous chapter, I have delineated my own understanding of the concepts of age and generation. As it has been mentioned, age as an object of social enquiry has a short history. In this section, I explore the emergence of Intergenerational Studies as a scholarly subject, one which resulted from joint efforts to connect two fields that had been studying different aspects of ageing: growing up and growing old. Even though different disciplines were concerned with the study of generations (i.e., psychology, geography, medicine, sociology), there has been a generalised tendency to keep separate the study of different age groups (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2005).

On the one hand, there is childhood and youth studies. According to Qvortrup, Corsaro and Honig (2009), until the second half of the twentieth century, children had been seen mainly according to psychological and pedagogical terms. In the second half of the twentieth century, the area of childhood began gaining attention from sociology, anthropology, and geography. Some of the most influential work that first brought insight into childhood and society was that of Ariès. This French medievalist historian fiercely criticised the lack of protection and systematic abuse that children experienced in medieval times, thus claiming the inexistence of childhood in medieval society (Ariès,1962, cited in Coster, 2007). Ariès's arguments were

built on by de Mause (1974) and Stone (1977), who further argued that historically, childhood had been neglected. These efforts were the precursors of child and youth studies as they appear today. Thereafter, different scholars from pedagogical and philosophical points of view acknowledged the close relationship between community, society, and children's lives (Ariès,1962; Mead, 1978; de Lone, 1979; Zelizer, 1985).

In parallel with the expanding literature on child studies, Erikson (1968) wrote about the transition period in the development of children as they move into adulthood. As the boundaries of childhood and adulthood began changing in response to the socio-historical development, adolescence became a topic of interest for the social sciences. Nightingale and Wolverton (1993) suggested that adolescence was a transition period marked with uncertainty, and Steinberg (1999), drawing upon their work, further argued that adolescence was prolonged as a result of the current social arrangements (e. g. schooling demands). Adolescence, as a label that adults impose on young people, is bound by the social parameters associated with it. In addition to that, Steinberg observed how children in the twentieth century were experiencing puberty earlier in comparison with children from the previous century. He has suggested that the current notions held regarding adolescence have been a result of the Industrial Revolution, the reason being that before industrialisation, children were viewed as ‘miniature adults’ who officially became adults as soon as they secured ownership of property.

Even to this day, markers of ‘definitive’ transition have blurred. Some anthropologists and ethnographers (Heywood, 2001; Jenks, 1996; 2006; Lancy, 2008; Mayall, 2002; Vincent & Phillips, 2013; Wells, 2015) have argued that particularly in western societies, the disappearance of rites of passage have contributed to the elongation of adolescence, which up to this point was still classified as ‘later childhood’ in some fields. The reclassification of ‘later childhood’ as ‘youth’ is a more recent development. However, there are no clear divisions that can be universally applied to categorise childhood and youth, with one of the challenges being the use of different criteria to classify age-groupings. Further, pursuing a rigid frame to establish this division can prove even more problematic and have severe consequences in real life. For example, for legal purposes, childhood is internationally defined to include people under 18 years of age, thus granting rights and protection for children, which means anyone up to the age of 18. But, at the same time, it is understood that after a certain age, children will be held accountable for their actions. In England and Wales, the age of criminal responsibility is 10, marking the end of ‘innocent’ childhood and the beginning of youth, whereas, from a corporate point of view, the beginning of youth starts with ‘teen consumer culture’ at the age of 12 (Hope, 2007; p. 80).

Having childhood and adolescence as two separate fields of study meant that there were gaps in the literature and duplicate efforts that stemmed mainly from the lack of communication between fields and the different criteria used to define the subjects of study. And so, in order to address the difficulties derived from separating childhood and adolescence without losing sight of the actual life experiences of young people, Childhood and Youth studies came to be a field of its own (Qvortrup et al., 2009).

When I was beginning my research, I saw value in the childhood and youth studies aspect of intergenerational literature, since I was running my research project with young adults between 12-15 in the pilot and the school cycle. Vincent and Phillips (2013) have argued that the lifestyle of big cities in the Global North has contributed to the blurring of boundaries between young and adult. As I progressed with my study, this dynamic notion of childhood and youth was a helpful tool to broaden my understanding both of intergenerational relationships and the category of 'young', particularly for the final cycle of my research. This reconsideration will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7. Discussion.

Distant from Childhood and Youth studies, the seminal work of Peter Townsend (1981) on the social construction of the dependency of the old gave rise to the field of Social Gerontology, which exclusively addressed issues around older people's social lives. However, according to Rosenberg, Layne and Power (1997), some of the problems that were faced by older adults originated from their relationships with other people, regardless of age. The concerns of difficult relationships between older adults and other age groups increased with the burgeoning of ageing phenomena in our societies and the escalation of social implications of ageing. In broadening the focus of the field, it has been revealed that ageing affects not only older adults but also other age groups as well (Blaikie 1999; Laslett 1987, 1991; Vincent & Phillips, 2013). It is important to note that this realisation took considerable time: child/youth studies and gerontology had largely been developed as separate fields until relatively recently. Furthermore, in spite of these realisations, still there was some uneasiness between core social sciences and the study of ageing due to the neglect of critical factors such as 'the profound effects of race, ethnicity, gender and class divisions, as well as intergenerational relations, on the experience of ageing' (Estes et al., 2003, p. 145). As a result, different, more inclusive, approaches started to develop that intended more than anything to address the confrontation of the twin poles of ageing (i.e., old and young), avoiding elliptical, reductionist as well as shallow approaches (Holstein and Minkler, 2007 p. 14). Thus, the efforts to include older adults into the social sphere were turned into the pursuit of increased opportunities for people from different ages to associate with others. As a result, various grassroot and community projects fuelled the use of the 'intergenerational' approach in academia and

community projects. One key milestone has been the creation of the *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* in 2003.

Since then, interest in intergenerational programmes from different fields, including human geography, medicine, psychology, education, and technology among others, has increased (Hockey & James 1993; Hopkins & Pain, 2007; Hopkins et al., 2011; Mannion & Adey, 2011; Mitchell & Elwood 2013; Settersten 2005, 2007; Tarrant, 2015; Valentine et al., 2012; Vanderbeck & Worth, 2015; Waite & Cook, 2011). One of the existing challenges for the advancement of intergenerational programmes as suggested by Biggs and Lowenstein (as cited in Vanderbeck and Worth, 2015, p. 4) is the continued interchange and collaboration across different disciplines that are engaged with the concept of generation, meaning there is not one disciplinary base from which to work.

Within the body of intergenerational programmes, there are broadly three approaches to design: centring older adults, centring young, and designing for reciprocal exchanges. A considerable proportion of early intergenerational work falls within the first two approaches and focuses on one-way exchanges (Kaplan, 2002). I recognise that these might be relevant in their specific contexts. However, I am inclined toward a more reciprocal model to intergenerational work, as argued by Jarrot (2011) and VanderVen (1999, 2004).

As it was mentioned earlier, there have been difficulties in agreeing on a unifying criterion across fields to unequivocally define what being an older person or a young person involves. Similarly, there are wide variations in understanding the aspect of 'intergenerational' within intergenerational practice. Two of the most popular uses are those involving familial relationships, and those involving relationships between nursery children and older adults living in a nursing home (Kaplan et al., 1998; Kuehne & Melville, 2014; Martins et al., 2019). The advantage of having flexibility in how 'intergenerational' is understood allowed me to broaden my horizons with this research project and explore different configurations and possibilities, as per my intervention in its three different stages: first at an extra care residence with young participants between the ages of 12-14 and residents between 88-94, then with 15 year-olds and older adults between 57-89 in a school setting, and in the final cycle, where young adults under 30 participated alongside older adults, aged 89-96, in their extra care residence. Therefore, in this dissertation, I utilise the following definition for intergenerational practice which encompasses these interpretations:

> Activities or programs that increase cooperation, interaction and exchange between people from any two generations. They share their knowledge and resources and provide mutual support in relations benefiting not only individuals but their community. These programs provide opportunities for people, families and communities to enjoy and benefit

from a *society for all ages*.' (Generations United, undated, as cited by Sánchez et al., 2007, p. 35, italic in original).

The definition above provides a key construct that fits with the reciprocal approach of my research. This definition is also helpful to draw on the sharing of knowledge, which is relevant as I am in the field of education.

In the following section, I will explore the field and practice of intergenerational studies and the various domains in which intergenerational studies has been applied, and where my study fits into this.

2.1.1 Intergenerational Studies (IGS)

As it was pointed out in the beginning of Section 2.1, different disciplines were doing work around childhood and ageing that overlapped, but there were clear benefits in uniting forces and bringing together the separate scholarly pursuits. Through the years, these attempts have now developed into a largely practice based area of work, with some limited scholarly study called Intergenerational Studies (IGS). The main concern of IGS is studying how to create stronger links among different generations within society. In the case of older adults, for example, IGS research and community projects have helped them to connect with the rest of society by enabling spaces for dialogue to fight common and detrimental barriers to the adults' wellbeing, such as isolation and loneliness (Larking and Newman, 1997). For young people, many have benefitted from academic, developmental, and/or career mentoring (Springate et al., 2008). Two examples of intergenerational work are programmes which are run and then studied, and programmes supported by research funding. Since the field is relatively new, emerging early in the 21st century, IGS has mainly consisted of empirical studies, exploratory initiatives, community-based programmes, and research projects, all of which have been identified under the umbrella of 'Intergenerational Practice' or 'Intergenerational Programmes'. These programmes have been understood and explored using a limited number of 'theory light' framings, Kuehne (2003b) classified the use of theory within intergenerational work in three broad categories: 'theories focused on individuals and groups within interactive contexts; theories focused more exclusively on individual development; and conceptually based programs evaluations' (as cited in Kuehne & Melville, 2014, p. 319).

One of the recurrent criticisms of the Intergenerational field is this limited and scarce use of theory. In 2003, Kuehne (2003a, 2003b) reported on an increase in theoretically-driven intergenerational programmes within the five years preceding her publication. Within the articles selected for the review she found that there were broadly three categories of theory:

those focused more on individuals and groups within interactive contexts, those focused more exclusively on individual development, and conceptually based program evaluations. A decade later, Kuehne and Melville (2014) conducted an extensive review trying to locate theory-informed intergenerational programmes understanding theory as 'a set of concepts that describe, organize, and explain' (p. 319) the design and/or evaluation of the intergenerational programme. From an initial sample of 93 articles published between 2003 and 2014, they discarded more than half of the studies on the basis that there was no sound evidence that theory was present in the development or research of those programmes.

The initiatives and studies that have used theory more consistently are those that have focused on the relationships developed within families (González, Moll, and Amanti, 2005; Greengross, 2003; Kaplan et al., 1998; Torresgil, 2003); and those that investigate the integration of different generations across the workplace (Andersen & Trojaborg, 2007; Kaplan & Brintnall-Peterson, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Considering that within the breadth of Intergenerational Programmes more attention has been given to familial relationships, scholars have called for new research in the area of non-familial intergenerational programmes (Jarrot, 2011; Jarrot & Bruno, 2007). Additionally, Heydon (2012) has called for attention to the increasingly common factors that diminish opportunities for intergenerational encounters, such as geographic dispersal and the increased use of out-of-home care for children (McCain & Mustard, 1999) and older adults (Jarrott & Bruno, 2007). Similarly, based on my personal experience of living in a bustling city, I realised how our changing lifestyles (i.e. commuting, local and international migration) steer intergenerational relationships further away from the family settings. On this account, I argue that relationships within communities could yield more opportunities for intergenerational initiatives because they are not dependent on being at work or part of a family. Hence, there is space for inclusion of people who would otherwise be neglected (Granville, 2002; Greengross, 2003; Mercken, 2002; Phillipson, 2010; Seedsman & Feldman, 2003; Springate et al., 2008; Stanton & Tench, 2003). Therefore, working to create intergenerational relationships in communities can be a fruitful exercise and a critical advancement in encouraging intergenerational exchange, which is especially vital in our current society where people often do not live with their families and opportunities for intergenerational exchange in our cities have decreased (Facer et al., 2014; Manchester & Facer, 2015a). Based on these arguments, this research project aimed to investigate people's intergenerational relationships within communities, which included collaboration with institutions like schools or older adults' residences. I have therefore prioritised those initiatives in this literature review.

2.2 Intergenerational Programmes: An overview of practice, research and theory

In this section, I explore how resources have been applied to bring together different generations. The main purpose of this review was to inform my theoretical and methodological decisions. The intergenerational programmes that I present in the following pages have been selected on the basis of the scope, methods, resources, and theories that have been used to connect different generations in order to inform the decisions for designing my own study. Other criteria that I used for the selection will be presented in the following sections; they include the implementation of learning, technology, narratives, and storytelling, all as topics of interest that I have laid out in Chapter 1.

2.2.1 Learning in intergenerational settings

Given the relatively new existence of the field, 'intergenerational learning' has been investigated and theorised through extending, exploring and borrowing from other existing learning theories. Different approaches have been taken within scholarly pursuits to understand the learning that occurs in intergenerational settings. In this section, I discuss relevant approaches to learning in intergenerational settings that consistently use theory.

Before I delve into the elements of CoP within the theoretical framework for my research in (see Chapter 3), I will flag other theoretical lenses that have been used and which provide a frame of reference for my own study. One such frame is *funds of knowledge*, which in previous research has primarily been used to study intergenerational relationships within the family.

Funds of Knowledge

A 'fund of knowledge' with robust representation in literature is around intergenerational exchange within families. Amongst U.S. scholars, much work has been done within the Hispanic community (González et al., 2005; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Ladson-Billings, 1995; 2014). These important studies and their impact on the field highlight the ways that older generations teach younger generations about the cultural and linguistic practices which shape learning and understandings of the world. Importantly, these studies are rooted within culturally diverse communities.

The term 'funds of knowledge' (FoK) was coined by Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992), and for several years that followed, Amanti, González, and Moll worked within the conceptual framework of FoK. Moll's longitudinal work in Arizona across Hispanic communities closely examined how grandparents taught their grandchildren the sets of cultural practices that carried linguistic and communicational repertoires of practice. Gutiérrez's work similarly focused on the seamless blend of ways of knowing and doing passed on from grandparents to grandchildren. This work has undergone several iterations (see González, 1995; González & Amanti, 1997; González et al., 1995; Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1992; Moll & González, 1996; Gutiérrez, 2002; Gutiérrez et al., 2001; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). The premise that sustains

FoK is that ‘people are competent and have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge’ (González & Moll, 2002, p. 625). FoK are thus bodies of knowledge and skills historically accumulated which are essential for household functioning and well-being. FoK work is tied to intergenerational practices and brings awareness to the ways in which different generations within families exchange cultural and linguistic resources and practices shaping their learning and meaning making.

FoK tap into the richness of cultural learnings that are passed down within families and across communities. The importance of these studies lies in their culturally diverse community roots, and they provide pushback against more deficit framings of cultural knowledge within literature. Thus, the notion of FoK provides a helpful context for rethinking notions of power regarding knowledge production, thus locating power within my study of intergenerational place-based storytelling.

In another example, with academic work that intended to influence pedagogical changes, Ladson-Billings (1990) sought to understand what classroom elements resulted in successful outcomes for African American learners. She traced what goings-on in the classrooms of teachers who seemed to experience pedagogical success with those students. Eventually, she coined the term ‘culturally relevant pedagogy’ (Ladson-Billings, 1995) to describe the practices of teachers who appreciated their African American students’ assets and incorporated this knowledge as a central aspect of urban classrooms. Ladson-Billings identified three major domains from that work: academic success, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 2014). She saw the value of marginalised students’ backgrounds and the knowledge that they possessed, transmitted through intergenerational familial exchange; rather than viewing it as a handicap, she saw what was possible when the door for exploration of these resources was opened.

Intergenerational learning has often been used to describe the process by which older adults teach young people or vice versa. It is noteworthy that in very few instances, there has been evidence of a dynamic exchange in which older participants lead the learning and shift or share the leadership with the young people. It normally focuses on prioritising one age-group over the other (Kaplan, 2002; Jarrot & Smith, 2011). Toward this, Mannion (2012) has argued that reciprocity among generations is ‘a key construct for understanding intergenerational practice… [that] can help us to name the scope and purpose of intergenerational education’ (p. 389). Intergenerational learning focuses on the exchanges between people from different generations. The European Network for Intergenerational Learning (ENIL) has defined intergenerational learning as ‘a way that people of all ages can learn together and from each other … Intergenerational learning is an important part of lifelong learning, where the

generations work together to gain skills, values, and knowledge.' (ENIL, 2013, p. 4). As an example of this collaboration, previous work with intergenerational learning has emphasised the workplace, considering that people will benefit from the exchange of experiences and the building of a stronger body of knowledge within an organisation (Garavan and McGuire 2001; Ng and Feldman 2007; Ropes 2013; Ypsilanti et al., 2014). One learning theory that encompasses intergenerationality and provides tools that address participation is Communities of Practice.

Communities of Practice

Coming from a perspective of situated learning, and after having worked alongside Jean Lave to discuss the learning derived from models of apprenticeship (Lave & Wenger, 1991), Wenger (1998) further developed the ideas of knowing in practice and the different levels of participation. As a result, the framework of 'Communities of Practice' (CoP) was developed to address the learning that occurs in the process of participating as a member of a community. The framework of CoP has been utilised to study virtual worlds (Hildreth, Kimble, and Wright, 1998) management and education (Barton & Tusting, 2005; Keaton, 2005); relevant for this study, it has mainly been used to explore the integration of 'new generations' in the workplace. In CoPs, 'generations' are defined in terms of participation in a community as a result of expertise gained through time spent in that community. So, by this definition, a generation is not necessarily linked to age. A 'newcomer' could be an 'older' person who does not have a long period of participation within the community.

The CoP framework has been used to design learning environments in the corporate world. For example, clubs dedicated to technological innovation at Daimler-Chrysler and Toyota (among other automobile and chemical industries) have adopted CoP to manage their knowledge systems; thus, the manufacturers, suppliers, and distributors participate in knowledge production and learn from one another within and across their own and other departments (Adler, 2001; Dyer & Nobeoka, 2000; Stuart, et al., 1998; Wenger et al., 2002). As discussed in Section 1.1.3, my understanding of 'generation' corresponds with the age of participants. Even though my use of 'generation' differs from its application within the CoP frame, I have found it useful for understanding the relational aspects of my intergenerational study.

Intergenerational learning-programmes

In the previous sections, I have introduced ideas of intergenerational learning and discussed CoP and funds of knowledge to frame the learning approach within this study. This section goes on to provide examples of programmes and practice, looking more specifically at intergenerational programmes.

An example programme which used FoK and intergenerational work outside of the family: in 2004, Heydon began a three-phase project that centred on the design and evaluation of intergenerational curricula (Heydon, 2007; 2012). The first part of this project named 'Art in the neighbourhood' took place in an intergenerational art class that belonged to an intergenerational programme at Providence Mount Saint Vincent (PMSV), assisted living facility in the US city of Seattle. This programme was designed to solve several demographic and social challenges experienced in the local context through intergenerational activities hosted in facilities that were shared by child-care and elder-care. Heydon's use of theory included FoK, Actor-Network Theory, and social semiotics. FoK provided Heydon an insight into the communicative and epistemic resources participants brought with them. From this project, I borrowed the idea of participation of older adults who live in a residence which organised intergenerational initiatives. Further, I appreciated the distinction between intergenerational programmes and intergenerational activities: intergenerational programmes allow for meaningful connections and depth, highlighting the importance of time, while the latter term tends to lack continuity.

Flash (2015) further reviewed the intergenerational practices that occur at the child-care centre located within premises of PMSV's older adult residence. At the time of Flash's research, the Intergenerational Learning Center at PMSV had been open around 25 years and managed to serve more than 1000 children between the ages of 6 weeks and 5 years old, and 'touching the hearts' of more than 3,000 older adults (Flash, 2015). Children at PMSV interact five days a week with older adults in art and music classes, story time, and exercise activities. The coordination and collaboration between teachers who guided and facilitated the encounters was key to successful activities.

There are also examples of child-led intergenerational learning programmes in which teacher coordination made a difference. In this case, teachers supervised a learning programme that shifted the paradigm of adults teaching children. Gallagher and Hogan (2000) evaluated a community-based intergenerational learning project that involved students from a local school sharing their science knowledge with adults in the community. In this programme, children and adults addressed together environmental problems surrounding reforestation of their community. With the supervision of schoolteachers, both children and older adults engaged in intergenerational interactions that improved intergenerational communication and understanding, thus benefitting the community as well as older and younger participants. In addition to the value of improving their immediate environment, participation in this project had a positive impact on the school's teaching practices. From this example, I can perceive that the programme dealt with the challenge of hierarchical relationships and favoured sharing and

producing knowledge; it further engaged in collaboration between the school and the community, and mutual benefits were gained out from the enterprise.

Regarding programmes that recognise the value of youth knowledge and the generative force of dialogue, Lawson et al. (2018) recently explored how children are taking responsibility for shifting adults' attitudes about and knowledge of climate change. From this intergenerational learning programme, I appreciated the shift in power relations, seen in the ways in which younger participants shared their science knowledge with the older adults in their community. Choosing a topic for conversation with which people may or may not have a personal connection carries political weight and could impact people's lives. As a result of these interactions, participants were able to reconsider the political significance of their individual and collective decisions. This exercise in self-awareness and reflexivity interested me as it resonated with my critical theory perspective.

In terms of relational shifts, a more reciprocal approach has been presented by Simándi (2018), who suggested how providing access to learning through study circles can provide possibilities for intergenerational learning: there, young and old people with different preliminary knowledge can profit from the experiences gained through joint work and from examining topics from different points of views. The younger and older generations can work together in a non-formal learning environment and there is an opportunity for common learning and knowledge sharing as well.

Narrative learning

Along with the approaches of learning in intergenerational settings presented so far, there has been a number of initiatives that allow for narrative learning, which will be discussed in this section. After implementing an arts curriculum at PMSV as referenced earlier, Rachel Heydon's research study continued in a care home in Canada with small children making multimodal texts with older people over a period of a few years (Heydon, 2012; Heydon & Rowsell, 2015). In this study, a multimodal arts curriculum was designed to expand communication and encourage all participants to confront age-related biases. The highlights from this research include the design and implementation of intergenerational curricula that is tailored and re-evaluated to fit the needs of those involved. In addition to that, I noticed how the project benefited from the use of multimedia, including storytelling.

As with multimodal texts, personal narratives can mediate encounters between old and young people and encourage a dialogue about life experience (Dominicé, 2007). This exchange enables a two-way learning experience. In this respect, Goodson et al. (2010) have proposed that narrative learning is 'not solely learning from the narrative; it is also the learning that goes

on in the act of narration and in the ongoing construction of a life story' (p.127). In other words, narrative learning occurs in two different forms. One way is the learning that emerges at the receiving end of the narrative. The other develops when the narrative is being produced as an ongoing internal conversation. Learning within and through one's life history is therefore interactive and socially structured.

To this respect, West, Merrill and Andersen (2007) have argued that life history research is a powerful tool that has the potential to help us to reposition our understanding of learning in a 'more holistic, historical and specific way' (p. 287); it connects experience, time and place as it ties together different spheres and stages of life. In the context of my research, it is through the telling of the stories and the invested time within the intergenerational groups that I seek to understand how the learning process takes place.

Another instance of the use of narratives in learning is found in Reese's (2012) research. In her study, Reese explored how sharing narratives of deprivation and struggle can build resilience and support intergenerational familial relationships. The transmission of cultural values that occurs through 'dichos' (akin to sayings) in the home and in classrooms provides a bridge between the curriculum and the lived experiences of young students. The oral practices, including 'dichos' and storytelling that take place in the home carry potential for the development of the young students' literacies. From this example, I draw first and foremost from my own experience as a Mexican child who grew up listening to stories and 'dichos' from the older generations; it functioned as a staple of my education. Within the narratives, people have found an outlet to express themselves and reflect during the process (Holstein & Minkler, 2007). In discussing 'narrative learning', Goodson et al. (2010) further argued that it is precisely this reflection process that feeds back into the learning; however, this process does not always occur as a conscious exercise. When I was designing my study, I wanted to give participants the option to engage with storytelling. This decision was a combination of my own interests and early experiences, my interaction with the literature, and early examples that I looked studied. I carried out my literature review with the intention to look for storytelling and its different aspects. In the following section, I explore the use of narratives in intergenerational settings, focusing on three specific strands that feed into the storytelling of my interventions: place-based reminiscence, personal narratives, and oral histories.

2.2.2 Narratives and storytelling in intergenerational settings

Within projects that foster intergenerational practice, Springate et al. (2008) have observed that there is a strong tradition of reminiscence work among older people which has influenced the use of narratives within the field of intergenerational practice (Kaplan et al., 1998; Bornat, 2001; Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako, 2000).

Place-based reminiscence

A number of these projects have explored using place-based reminiscence narratives to increase intergenerational exchange between people that live in a determined area and strengthen links as a community. Place-based reminiscence consists of remembering accounts in relation to place (Mercken, 2002).

One such project is Country Reminiscence, reviewed by Granville (2002), which was carried out in 1999 as a partnership between a former County Advisor for Music in Cornwall and the Music and Dance Education Trust. In this project, three rural Cornish communities took part, using performative arts with the theme of natural history as a way to share nature experiences. There were four objectives: firstly, that old and young people could know more about the local wildlife, its habitat, and prospects for conservation. Secondly, the project proposed that older people could explore new ways of sharing their memories and feel valued when transferring their skills. Thirdly, younger people could have a glimpse of disability and ageing and learn from observations and dialogue. Finally, the ties across generations would tighten within the community, in the hopes of creating incentives for participants to continue to engage in their groups after the end of the project. Participants from this project built mutual respect and younger people became interested in ageing and disability. These findings suggest that through interaction, people can overcome the hurdles created by the pervasiveness of negative stereotypes in mainstream media while genuinely engaging in constructive relationships. In addition to that, the study highlighted the importance of mediation and the need to clearly define people's roles within the project.

A second example is the method developed by the Netherlands Institute of Care and Welfare to promote the integration of generations and cultures (Mercken, 2002). Neighbourhood-reminiscence is a method that uses stories from neighbourhood residents' memories. The main goal was to promote exchange, mutual understanding, and respect between different age and cultural groups. It was based at the local neighbourhood level 'because the neighbourhood is where people live, where they meet each other and where tensions between citizens with different lifestyles and interests may erupt' (Mercken, 2002, pp. 81-2). This process required purposeful guidance to produce objects such as pictures, scents, or pieces of other people's stories that were used as triggers to retrieve a memory. The memory then was used to encourage communication and interaction between people in the neighbourhood. The goals of neighbourhood-reminiscence were firstly to promote social participation inside the neighbourhood. Secondly, the project worked to encourage communication and interaction among different cultural and age groups. Thirdly, it strove to improve the quality of social relationships in the neighbourhood. The piloting of this model was run in three phases. The

first phase was to teach people how to reminisce and select a story. The second phase was focused on sharing the memories with people from different cultural backgrounds through the exchange of personal stories. In the third phase, the aim was to broaden participation by including different age groups. The intergenerational encounters that derived from this exercise helped younger people (aged 16-19) grasp the historical roots of the neighbourhood through hearing the older people's stories. Conversely, older people found new ways to communicate with younger people and to better understand them. Although there is no explicit mention that the stories needed to be about the neighbourhood, this was implied in the description of the second phase, when groups were mixed to encourage collaboration with different ethnic groups, where the participants could 'get to know each other and develop the awareness that they are working together and need each other's memories and stories to create a full picture of the neighbourhood' (Mercken, 2002, p. 87).

The importance of geographical space derives from the principle that, as noted in other intergenerational projects, activities within the community addressing issues related to that community increase engagement and foster participation because these concerns occur within the shared space (Mercken, 2002). For instance, 'The Big Together' neighbourhood renewal project in the London borough of Camden, aimed to involve local people in various activities happening in the community (Carter, 2007). In this regard, it has been argued by Langford and Williams (2004, cited in Springate et al., 2008) that such projects can help people to explore their neighbourhood history, understand the present, and plan for the future.

As observed in the projects reviewed, place-based reminiscence owes its popularity to its usefulness in providing a place for dialogue where people talk about what they know, be it a community, a country, or a neighbourhood, to name a few possible spaces. In addition, reminiscence is important for this study because it elicits the opportunity to engage with different people at a personal level by getting to know each other closely. In the case of place-based reminiscence, the stories are anchored to a specific location; however, there is yet another element that comes to the fore, and that is the individual who is reminiscing. This process provides a two-fold opportunity to connect with others, firstly by having something shared (the place) that they can use as a means to build rapport through commonalities. Secondly, the interaction provides a chance to connect with someone who can enrich the experience through diversity, and, as a result, enhance reciprocal relations.

Additionally, Mannion (2012) has argued that there is a need to pay more attention to the role of place within intergenerational relationships. He further urges us to seek understanding of how intergenerational practice relates to the way in which place enables the exchanges between generations. From place-based reminiscence, I can identify two key aspects relevant

to my study: first, place functions as a source of information that anchors the conversation. Secondly, reminiscence acts as a storytelling device with the potential to start meaningful communications. A similar approach that relies on people sharing stories without the boundaries of place is that of personal narratives.

Personal narratives

In this section, I explore some studies that implemented the use of personal narratives and consider how those narratives can be used to bring generations together. One example of implementation of personal narratives: in Vancouver, Canada, and Manchester, UK older adults took photographs to discuss their impressions of living in deprived areas (Smith, 2009). The pictures, mainly of parks and urban areas, were meant to describe how they felt about their neighbourhood. Later, these participants were interviewed based on the photographs that they had provided. The study's focus was to include perspectives of older people from those neighbourhoods, emphasising their experiences as related to their neighbours from different age-groups. As it turned out, some of the adults in the study were uneasy about their encounters with younger people because they perceived a clash of interests and thought it could be harmful for them to establish a relationship. One of these adults indicated his discomfort after younger families moved in because 'they had no respect for one another like the older residents' (Smith, 2009, p. 145). Older adults exhibited frustration when their dream of a quiet life could not be fulfilled with the disruptions created by young people in their neighbourhood. This offers a glimpse into older people's perceptions of young people. However, this exercise showed only one side of the story, wherein older adults wanted younger people to live up to their expectations, and it is noteworthy that the study did not include activities where people from different generations shared their stories or interacted. From this instance, I observed that the personal narrative approach on its own is not necessarily conducive to reciprocal relations.

Personal narratives, in parallel with identities, are inevitably intertwined with the familial, institutional, national – and now global – stories as our lives are impacted by familial, institutional, national, and global events. Both in context and form, there seems to be a definitive influence of historical time and place in the production of life stories. Furthermore, as Miller (2007) puts forward, creating one's own life story will demonstrate overlap with shared culture, location, or history from others' lives. Therefore, Miller was suggesting that just as there is interdependence between different identities, there is interdependence between different narratives as well. Not only does this process work at the individual level, but it also works as a community effort to create social awareness that drives change. Furthermore, the

use of such narratives is relevant to and has application for multiple disciplines, for instance, intergenerational studies and education. To this respect, Atkinson (1998) argued that life stories have a pivotal role in human development: 'the interaction between generations, and integrity in late life . . . the process of elders passing on their life story to others, with its experiences, lessons, wisdom, guidance, and hope and is essential for both the individual and the community' (p.17). This notion can be observed in the following instance.

In the programme 'Intergenerational Learning in North Tyneside' (Stanton & Tench, 2003), a method called 'Storyline' was adapted to provide intergenerational communities an opportunity to exchange experiences. The programme was launched in the pursuit of a shared educational experience wherein older people felt valued and able to contribute to society. The approach taken towards storytelling invoked personal narratives and took advantage of people's own cultural knowledge; it was based on the 'Storyline' method, which was originally devised for primary schools in Scotland in the 1960s. It was later adapted in the 1990s for use in secondary schools in Denmark and then included intergenerational exchanges. In the Storyline model, key questions are set in order to determine the learning objectives. Then, a story is created by the intergenerational groups; the story is described in time and space along with its characters, who can be either fictitious or real. The story is supposed to help resolve the issues posed by way of key questions presented throughout the discussion. The Storyline concludes with a celebratory event in the context of the story. Stanton and Tench (2003) discuss one of the implementations of this method which involved intergenerational groups (65-75 years old adults, and 15-year-old students) and delved into older people's experiences of wartime. The Storyline 'Families at War' told the struggles of fictitious families as the war developed; the action culminated on a VE Day with a street party. In this instance, personal experiences enabled the older volunteers to help in the creation of a narrative that (although purposely fictitious) allowed the younger participants to comprehend what life was like for real families during wartime. Personal narratives in Storyline 'Families at War' are relevant beyond the juxtaposition of individual stories and observation of war as a social phenomenon, because as Atkinson (1998) has pointed out, telling one's own life story augments one's self-knowledge as the storyteller engages in reflection while expressing the story. This reflective process occurs because, at the intersection of social and personal narratives and reminiscence a light is shed onto the creator of the story: it tells the listener more about who this person is. Identities are part of relationship development and – as will be explained in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3 – they also part of the learning process that will be addressed within the present study.

The value I see in personal narratives is in the inherent connection with the owner of the narrative. Narratives provide a genuine opportunity for deeper connection with the individual,

regardless of space. Taking into account the role of place and historicity in personal narratives and reminiscences, it is easy to anticipate the similarities they hold with oral history, as explained in the next section.

Oral history

Writing about oral history, Maynes, Pierce and Laslett (2008) concur with Bornat (2001) in that one way to look at oral history is as an assemblage of personal narratives that occur over time in a determined social context. An underlying theme that comes through the different concepts that have been so far presented is that of *history*. Learning, identities, and communities are all enmeshed in and made possible by history. According to Andersen and Trojaborg (2007), history is the product of lives, with individuals leaving their trace behind for future observers to gaze upon and, presumably, to learn from. Its relevance is more than just for keeping an account of events; the accounts of events themselves show the social fabric in which they were produced and enable an understanding of the way in which the events occurred. Before writing, oral tradition kept much of the wisdom available for newer generations, allowing them to push forward the development of civilizations. However, in the last centuries, the task of keeping records was left to the privileged elite of educated and/or powerful men who attempted to produce a 'reliable' and official source of current and past incidents (Byrskog, 2002; Janesick, 2010).

However, recently there has been a shift to welcome different versions and accounts for a more varied perspective upon previously uncontested accounts of history. The use of personal narratives in oral history research emphasises the biographical over the dominant traditions prevalent in classical research; it acts 'as a reaction against forms of research which marginalised the perspectives of subjects themselves or reduced subjective processes, including learning, to overly abstract entities' (West et al., 2007, p. 12). Apart from the obvious connection to storytelling and intergenerational work, I reviewed here the oral history approach because of its potential for active participation in the telling and making of stories. This approach, in turn, would open up possibilities to create new spaces for narrative learning, as suggested by Bornat (2004) and Goodson (2013). More specifically, according to the Oral History Society (2015), oral history seeks to embrace everyone's unique life experiences, giving people the opportunity to have their voices heard, especially for those who have been marginalised in the past. All of this enhances the approach taken in my research, offering new insights that might prompt discussion around diverse narratives.

To this day, oral histories have been built based on the telling of stories through speech, writing, video, or a combination of all these forms (Janesick, 2010). However, its real potential

lies in the act of telling, that by telling a real person's story, it is possible to create understanding, to comprehend one's own life story, and to be empowered by this process (Atkinson, 1998; Merrill et al., 2007). Nonetheless, for this kind of project to flourish, there needs to be recognition from existing institutions and new spaces need to be built for learning. The reconfiguration of existing spaces through narratives and oral history is a promising endeavour for amplifying marginalised points of view: an example of how oral history can re-construct a place through people's narratives is explained below.

In Hackney, London, tenants of a housing estate participated in an oral history project to re-establish their social and historical identities as tenants of the Woodberry Down estate (Bornat, 2004). By 1989, a book was co-produced (Woodberry Down Memories Group, 1989), telling the story of an ethnically diverse group of people and a housing authority that together built a community where the tenants' children could aspire to a better life. The project emerged in response to requests from the Council (as part of city planning and redevelopment) to validate the existence of the estate and justify the right for tenants to live there. From this project, I am interested in the sharing of stories which brought previously unheard voices into focus. That book, co-produced at Woodberry, is relevant for my study for this very reason: from this example, I want to highlight the relevance of community participation and the interplay of individuals that come to live in a shared space. Through that communication and interaction, a community is built with a sense of plurality.

The principle behind using oral history in intergenerational practice is related to the intergenerational exchange of knowledge through reminiscence of personal narratives. Previously, the projects of oral history have been mainly exploiting the older adults' cultural knowledge and experience; in my approach, I intend to include both young and older people in the sharing and creation of narratives.

Storytelling

The backbone of the sharing of reminiscences, personal narratives, and oral histories is the mere action of communicating experiences and knowledge: this is storytelling. Scholars (Bazley & Graham, 2012; Benmayor, 2008; Bornat, 2004; Goodson et al., 2010; Goodson, 2013) have recognised the strong link between narrative learning and participation in social enterprises. This connection seems to stem from the reflexive exercise that storytelling entails (Merrill et al., 2007). The possibility of profound changes in social life and personal experiences occurring as narratives and identities are constructed has also been observed (Giddens 1991).

One way to achieve the goal of this research could be through the telling of life experiences. In the past, stories have mainly been shared as the heritage of one's kin, often passing from grandparents to parents and children. The pervasiveness of this practice ensured the continuity of traditions and ancient knowledge (Janesick, 2010). In this research, however, I explore beyond the family and draw upon the different shapes that storytelling can take: oral history, place-based, reminiscence, and personal narratives all fall under the umbrella of **storytelling**. In the following section, I will explore how technology has been used to enhance the storytelling process and how technology has been used in general by different generations.

2.2.3 Use of technology across generations

Although the examination of intergenerational interactions has gained advocates within the research community, little attention has been paid to the potential role that technology could play within those interactions. There is analysis of how separate groups of people use technology, which suggests that an older cohort is less likely to engage in the use of technology (Hutchby, 2001; Selwyn, 2009; Venkatesh et al., 2003). However, the notion that older people are less likely to use technology cannot necessarily be projected onto all older people. In this respect, the main reason used to explain older people's reticence with using technologies has been that technology is perceived as irrelevant or is rendered as useless (Selwyn, 2004). However, more recent studies have shown that, given the conditions where there is personal interest and access to technology, older adults can and do become proficient users (Hardill, 2015; Valentine, 2015). In other words, the current underutilisation of technology by older people is not an inescapable outcome; on the contrary, this state yields a vast field of study for researchers to explore how technological resources can be best exploited in context. A good reason for encouraging older adults to use technology is to give them a better chance to reconnect with society, such as through the use of ICT for communication (Hardill, 2015). Additionally, technology can provide an opportunity for them to leave a digital legacy of their lives, thus enabling them to be more accurately represented in the digital sphere (Manchester & Facer, 2015b).

Technology has been used in a variety of intergenerational initiatives in combination with storytelling. For instance, Heydon (2015) explored the use of multimedia, arts, and technology in intergenerational settings. The participants in this project incorporated storytelling iPads to tell stories through digital storybooks. The introduction of media enriched the conversations between the generations and offered a wide range of opportunities to communicate. Similarly, in another study, Meimaris (2017) investigated the use of a digital tool to create digital stories between generations: there, primary school children aged 6-7 and retired adults aged 70-80 co-created digital stories. Through this longitudinal study, the researcher explored different

aspects of creating stories together, with a focus on creating stories around the experiences of the older adults of the community from the municipality of Nikea in Athens.

Another example is the 'Digital Life History Project', which aimed to ease the difficulties inherent in interactions between people from different generations and backgrounds (Loe, 2013). It also sought to foster appreciation for local history and planning for the future in response to individual life's concerns. In the project, the participant adults aged 55 and older worked in groups with young people aged 19-20. The older adults told the story of their lives and the younger people created a short video about those stories. In the course of making the video, older participants were interviewed by their younger counterparts in order to start designing the video. The younger participants reported having developed an understanding of ageing. Furthermore, the process of co-creating a digital account of people's lives helped the two groups to establish relationships based on these understandings and the mutual respect that emerged through their encounters. In this case, the researchers utilised younger people's digital skills to further the dialogue by asking them to collaborate with the older adults to create the digital account.

For the present study, I also tap into the young people's expertise in the use of technology as a way of connecting with older people (Herring, 2008). Other scholars have argued that technology may help learners to generate meaning and expand their knowledge together within and beyond their communities in a collaborative environment (Ryu & Parsons, 2009). For this reason, I wanted to design an intervention in which technology would serve as a mediator in the dialogue between older and young people. My first choice was the online mapping tool Map Your Bristol (MyB) which I discuss below as another example of storytelling and technology.

Map Your Bristol

Know Your Bristol KyB is a collaborative project between Bristol City Council, the University of Bristol, and several Bristol community groups (Bickers, et al., 2012). KyB has aimed 'to enable people to explore, research and co-create Bristol history, heritage and culture using digital tools' (Know Your Bristol, 2015). In KyB's initial phase people in the local community contributed to update *Know Your Place*, which is a digital archive of artefacts and maps managed by Bristol City Council, adding to their existing online maps a 'community history layer' (Know Your Place, 2013). Given the success of KyB within the community, in 2013 there was a new iteration of KyB which was designed to reach a wider audience. Since one of KyB aims was to engage the community in co-creation of historical artefacts, it was decided that a new system was needed: a system that would enable communities to share and curate their stories (Jones et al., 2015). Thus, the mapping system *Map Your Bristol* was created, trying to simplify the modifications and bypass central moderation of using Know Your Place. MyB

has a website in which users can upload images, text, and videos to layers of the map. It is also possible for users to generate new layers to the map as they wish (Map Your Bristol, 2013).

Apart from the responsive approach that incorporated feedback from the community in its successive iterations, I saw value in the way KyB engaged older and younger generations. Relying mainly on oral history, both young and older participants have contributed to KyB, for example through Know your Zoo (Bickers et al., 2012) and the Schools History Project (Know your Bristol, 2015). However, they did not interact with each other because the activities belonged to different stages of the project, which meant that each group participated in a separate activity. The deployment of oral history as 'a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events' (Oral History Association, 2015) within this project nevertheless enabled opportunities to incorporate technology into the social collaboration fostered between different age groups.

KyB comprises a number of sub-projects, MyB is one of them, and which I intended to explore in more detail as a technological resource to foster dialogue within intergenerational groups. I perceived that with this tool, it would be possible to explore *place* from the eyes of people, and this feature influenced my reasons for choosing it, since it allows people to interact with the space in different ways. It also offers the opportunity for people to say something about the place, be it something factual, or personal. It could be a photograph of the place that dates back to a bygone era, or a more personal contribution, or somewhere in between, a mix between the personal and the historical, for example stories about going to the local schools, working at the local shops and factories as well as wartime memories of bombing and air raid shelters (Bickers et al., 2012). In this study, I wanted to focus on the role of MyB as an interactive mapping technology and explore how it could act as a mediating tool that enables or constrains social action, as will be explained in Chapter 3. In this case, I was particularly interested in the formation and maintenance of human relationships across different generations in place-based storytelling activities. I therefore considered the social context along with the digital technologies, including the particular digital technologies relevant to this study.

Before conducting my study, I found that the content that was available in MyB had been produced with both young and older people supplying content, but most of these contributions had been done separately. If it could be used in this way with each age-group working separately, then I imagined that it could also be used with young people and older adults working together. Therefore, this technological device is relevant for the present study because it has the potential to act as a mediating tool to enhance intergenerational

relationships. At the same time, this tool can facilitate people's conversations within the theme of the shared space where they both live; it can allow each to see the place as experienced by someone else and to tap into the knowledge of other people and their interest in a common physical place: the city of Bristol.

Having identified this tool and seeing its success with younger and older adults, I set out to investigate its potential within my own study. As stated, I was particularly interested in the formation and maintenance of intergenerational relationships through place-based storytelling activities, and for the present study, I am interested in the making of a more democratic account in which the voices of people are heard. For this reason, I wanted to work with the construction of people's stories from their own perspectives as a means of learning about the world they live in and as a point of reference for the making of new futures (West et al., 2007).

Tangible Memories

Another potential technology that I identified for use in intergenerational contexts was the Tangible Memories app. It was co-designed as part of a larger research project that aimed to help improve the quality of life for residents in care homes by building a sense of community and shared experience and engaging residents in a cooperative exploration of their life history stories (Jakob et al., 2017). It was developed as part of a University of Bristol research project led by Dr. Helen Manchester and an interdisciplinary team that included digital artists, learning researchers, computer scientists, social historians, older people, and those who work with older people (like caregivers and assistants). Together, the team co-produced a set of new digital tools that could address some of the key societal challenges concerning the care and well-being of older people and the legacy of the memories and stories that they leave for future generations. The team sought to bring together tangible technologies with historical research and democratic community building. The main goal of the project has been 'to help improve the quality of life for residents in care homes by building a sense of community and shared experience through a cooperative exploration of their life history stories' (Tangible Memories, 2017). The main objective was to link meaningful personal objects with their stories to help participants reminisce around significant memories which they could also share should they want to do so; the team also worked to develop more resources for use in the care homes.

One products of this project was the *Tangible Memories* app for the iPad, a portable digital device. The app generates digital books that are stored in the device in which they are created. Though the purpose of this app was to create digital versions of people's stories, it was eventually decided during the co-design process that participants would benefit from having a printed version of the book that went along with the digital recordings. The older adults wanted a material, tangible, and familiar 'technology' (a book) to better share their stories in a format they understood and liked. This development with a printed multimedia book led to another

innovation, wherein the illustrated book could be accompanied by audio recordings that people could play back from their digital devices. Given its design, the Tangible Memories app lends itself as a technological tool that can enhance personal narratives, including place-based reminiscence. I used this tool because I thought it could be interesting for people to explore the idea of having a material outcome for their participation.

2.3 Learning, place-based storytelling and technology in intergenerational settings

In this section I bring together all of the literature and concepts considered in this chapter providing a rationale for my approach that feed forward into the theoretical framework. I begin by contrasting unsuccessful intergenerational programmes with the elements I perceived that have been helpful in the work I have reviewed earlier in the chapter.
Having reviewed intergenerational projects from the literature, and the literature around intergenerational practice more broadly, I found a number of studies that incorporated narratives and storytelling; as something that resonated with my own experience of intergenerational relationships, I decided to focus on the use of these resources for my research project.

There have been a few instances of intergenerational programmes that had negative outcomes. One intergenerational programme resulted in older adults' perceptions of deteriorating communication with younger adults in China (Cai et al., 1998). Another example involved pre-schoolers who visited infirmed adults at a nursing home: in this case, spending time with the adults had a damaging effect in children's views of older adults and ageing (Seefeldt, 1987). Sometimes reminiscence or narratives can harm psychological wellbeing and negatively impact place attachment, as observed by Smith (2009). However, narratives can also help people to create new realities that enable them to reconcile distressing experiences and renovate their perceptions of physical space (Rowles, 1993; Taylor, 2001).

Here I argue that this focus on place has been recognised as important but has been underexplored, as pointed out by Mannion (2012). He also recognises that one of aspects that is key in the intergenerational learning processes is reciprocity. In her research, Heydon (2012) recognised the importance of cooperation and mutuality. As explored earlier, Heydon's research from a care home in Canada involved small children making multimodal texts with older people over a research period of a few years. As such, she explored the co-creation of a multimodal material between older adults and young children in a co-located site, which resonates strongly with my own study. Within her study, Heydon organised activities which included storytelling. She designed and implemented intergenerational curricula that

contemplated the joint production of multimedia material that equally recognised the inputs from the older adults and the young participants. However, the theoretical lenses she used to frame her analyses investigated literacies through Funds of Knowledge, Actor-Network theory and semiotic analysis to understand meaning-making.

Other studies have provided useful theoretical framings of intergenerational learning, for example Indigenous scholars like Smith (2009) who have written about elders and children at either ends of life working together to co-learn and co-produce knowledge. However, I am instead exploring older people and younger people coming together sharing stories digitally or orally with the focus on the relational aspect of learning. According to Tan, Lee and Hung (2014), narratives are an accessible resource that enables a space for participation and learning, for they are already embedded in our societies. The usefulness of narratives is notable in this context, considering that 'people learn "in" and "through" their stories and storying' (Goodson et al., 2010, p.3). Alheit & Dausien (2007) further argue that through personal narratives, it is possible to conceive an integral process of learning and development, as individuals and as societies. According to Merrill (2007), during the process of constructing personal narratives, there is significant overlapping with the narratives of others that share something in common – e. g., nationality, birth cohort, race, etc.

Furthermore, narratives have been used to construct History, given their usefulness to be able to make sense of the world and disseminate these understandings (Allen, 1992). However, even though the sum of all these narratives contributes to the creation of 'History', there is a historical transcendence of certain narratives over others produced by power struggles that privilege certain voices over others. Oral history as a movement that emerged to bring people's voices to the forefront in research has enabled the flourishing of narrative and biographical approaches in educational studies (West et al., 2007).

Additionally, through the development of biographical research, it has been noted that in order to be able to better understand history, it is important to consider not only the time and social context referenced in the narratives, but one should also consider the physical place where they originated. This is because narratives are shaped and given meaning by time, space, and social context, all of which are present within the narrative even when they are not explicitly mentioned (Byrskog, 2002; Janesick, 2010). The relevance of physical space and place attachment in relation to social development has been addressed in research literature in previous years (Rowles, 1978, 1983; Fried, 2000; Sugihara and Evans, 2000; Cattell, 2004). Subsequently, West, Merrill and Andersen (2007) have argued that life history research can illuminate the relationship of time and space with life histories in a holistic process where the learning opportunities are observed in association to their specific context. Smith (2009) added

to this argument, emphasising the importance of social attachment in people's life stories, as it also manifests within narratives.

Taking into account the existence of personal stories used so far in existing intergenerational programmes, I perceived an opportunity to explore using co-creation of a shared narratives, as well as personal stories; from the previous literature, I could see the appeal of this approach. Thus, the produced stories would also function as an instrument for reflection towards making sense of the research process. Additionally, with my study I intended to use these resources to explore new ways of connecting older and younger generations in Bristol. The different conceptions of what age and generations are have impacted the ways in which people relate to one another. In addition to that, rapid socio-technical change seems to reinforce existing negative stereotypes, bringing different generations further apart. Earlier in this chapter, through the body of work on social gerontology, the importance of place-based reminiscence, and oral history has been explored. Further, IGS was presented to explore the potential of oral history and the use of technology across generations. However, little research has looked at the creation of intergenerational communities through the co-creation and sharing of stories supported by technology. This is the gap that this study aims to contribute towards.

Earlier in the chapter place-based reminiscence was mentioned with the use of the term 'place-based'. However, this term might seem unmoored and vague. In order to clarify and put in context this term, I present a number of related concepts that have helped me to weave together my understanding of place-based within this study. A useful concept is that of placed resources by Prinsloo (2005), where

> [a]t the level of practice, the new literacies are never reproduced in their entirety across different contexts. They function as artefacts and as signs that are embedded in local relations that are themselves shaped by larger social dynamics of power, status, access to resources and social mobility. They are placed resources.' (Prinsloo 2005, p. 96).

The appeal of Prinsloo's placed resources is that it is about how technologies are situated; their position has powerful implications within places like South Africa where broadband is limited and entire communities can be without WiFi. There, they make do with the technologies that they have and from this, he theorizes the role of passing on stories by whatever means is at hand.

My notion of place has to do with different generations thinking about their lives in Bristol, but it also involves Bristol as a place in relation to other lives lived. Starting from the situatedness of learning that sustains the CoP framework, I understand place as it has been employed by

Mannion and colleagues (2010). They argue that place-based education itself is a reciprocal intergenerational practice requiring the ongoing production of new relations between adult and young people through place-change processes. They suggest that intergenerational education is always a situated or emplaced activity and, therefore, offers potential for improved ecological or social justice (though these improvements may not necessarily result from the activity). They further argue that intergenerational practice is an emplaced activity that advances a society for all ages through increasing reciprocal communication and exchanges of many kinds between people from any two generations for the benefit of individuals, communities, and places. While further empirical research would be warranted, it is likely that viewing intergenerational practice as a place-based activity will allow us to see how new relationships between the generations are produced in/through/by new and different kinds of place because practices need locations for their performance and, through these performances, relationships can be changed. If intergenerational practice sets out to reconfigure intergenerational relationships, then it must include an aim of recognizing what reciprocal, intergenerational responsibilities we may have for each other and for places. Again, theoretically at least, we can argue that it is through these place-based approaches to changing relations that we and our places are reciprocally constructed.

After conducting a comprehensive literature review I found that the intergenerational programmes could be categorised in terms of which generation was put at the centre of the programmes. The resulting categories include the following: first, intergenerational programmes which focused on benefits for older adults; second, intergenerational programmes that focused on benefitting young people; and finally, intergenerational programs that sought to benefit both generations equally. The majority of the IGP reviewed fell under the first two approaches mentioned. Although the importance for these two approaches can be understood, I saw the need to explore the third one. For that reason, I proposed a project in which there were opportunities for *both* generations to share with one another.

With my study, I intended to look at how the learning process evolves from being led by one or the other age-group to a more horizontal model and how these changes occur. With this intention, I introduce critical pedagogy as the last theoretical concept that ties into the framework.

Given the gaps in theory for the design and implementation of intergenerational programmes addressed in this review, I propose to explore the use of combined conceptual ideas and theory. In the following chapter, I extend these ideas and develop a conceptual framework for theory and practice in intergenerational projects.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

In the previous chapter, I reviewed how the existing gap between generations has been approached in research. I observed that in most instances, the relations fostered were of an unequal nature. I proposed that further exploration of different ways of creating opportunities for intergenerational encounters could encourage the emergence and sustenance of intergenerational groups that interact in a more egalitarian fashion. To date, intergenerational practice has not been explored with the consistent use of theoretical frames. In this thesis, I draw on several theoretical lens in order to bring a critical approach to the study of intergenerational practice. Having observed in the previous chapter that place is an important component, in this chapter I explore notions of place that have helped me define the 'place-based' approach that I have undertaken in my study.

At the end of the previous chapter, I made the case for the need for a theory that would allow me to investigate the gap mentioned above, which would provide a different perspective that encourages active participation. There are a range of different theories within social learning approaches that could help in theorising intergenerational relationships and technologies within a community. For instance, Alheit and Dausien (2007) analysed learning through life stories and claimed that structured social interaction is construed as influencing the learning which is happening within context and which, at the same time, is colliding with the formation of the surrounding life stories and the learning process itself. According to Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), it is through participation in social practices that learning occurs. In the context of my study, social practice defines what constitutes being a young person or an older adult, and those social practices also affect the way in which those groups do or do not establish dialogue. It is through participation that existing practices are transmitted, and new practices are created within communities.

I utilise Communities of Practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) and theories of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972; 2005) to set up an analytical frame that will help me investigate the process of enabling sustained, intergenerational relationships. I begin this chapter exploring the main aspects of Communities of Practice as a learning theory. I have included in each pertinent section a brief discussion of debates that are relevant to the central themes of my study, e.g. place and participation. This is followed by a section in critical pedagogies. I end the chapter by linking my research with the intersection of the key concepts of theories and models that construct my theoretical framework.

3.1 Communities of Practice

As discussed in the previous chapter, intergenerational learning has been mainly investigated in the context of learning a trade through apprenticeships. But intergenerational relationships can also be understood as situated practice. From the model of Wenger (1998), I suggest that learning happens as a result of participation in social practice – in this case, through intergenerational practice. In this section, I present an overview of Communities of Practice (CoP) and examine how different aspects of CoP have been utilised for interrogating intergenerational practice in the groups taking part in this study. I end the section with a discussion of its limitations.

As a social theory of learning, CoP provides a useful analytical tool. Wenger (1998) has argued that within our different experiences of belonging to different groups such as family, work-place, school we interact and belong to CoP. Although, pervasive and familiar, these CoP are rarely formalised as such. In order to study these communities as a source of knowledge Wenger has capitalised on the prevalence and familiarity to create a framework that looks into the generative power of learning occurring in a community, Wenger has used the term 'Community of Practice' to define a 'community' (a group of people) in which a practice is shared. A CoP is a 'way of talking about the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognizable as competence' (Wenger, 1998, p. 5). A group of people sharing a set of interests, concerns, and passions, who interact continuously and invest themselves in advancing their knowledge, function as the basic definition of a CoP. Though in reality, relations are much more complex, having this theoretical lens can facilitate our understanding of more egalitarian intergenerational encounters, and more importantly, it will help me explore the possibilities of enabling such relationships. In the following paragraphs, I explore in the main concepts of CoP from Wenger (1998) that have been useful in this study.

According to Wenger, there are different components to a social theory of learning which describe social participation as a process of learning and knowing. These are *practice*, *community*, *meaning*, and *identity*, as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Components of a social theory of learning (Wenger, 1998, p. 5)

Wenger placed *learning* at the centre, but since these elements are deeply interconnected, he suggested that it was possible to shuffle the components. Thus, the model would still work with *practice*, *community*, *meaning*, or *identity* as the primary focus. This flexibility has been helpful in my study because I have been able to inquire into the emergence of an intergenerational community from different angles and gain a fuller understanding of each of these moving parts individually and as a whole. I will start drawing the picture by focusing on the central element of the above diagram: *learning*.

Learning

According to Wenger (1998), '[t]he negotiation of meaning is a fundamentally temporal process, and one must therefore understand practice in its temporal dimension' (p. 86). With this statement, it is implied that a community develops its practices through time and this practice is the result of the continuous engagement of its participants across generations. In Wenger's theory, the concept of generation is construed in terms of the time people have been part of the community and their resultant experience. In addition, he presents the idea of intergenerational encounters:

> the encounter between generations is much more complex than the mere transmission of a heritage. It is an interlocking of identities, with all the conflicts and mutual

> dependencies this entails; by this interlocking, individual trajectories incorporate in different ways the history of a practice. (1998, p.157).

With this consideration, he addressed the assimilation of 'newcomers' to a community and the transmission of practices: through participation during their gradual integration, they become 'old-timers'.

Importantly, within the theory of CoP, intergenerational encounters are understood as the relationships between new and 'old-timer' members of a CoP and do not necessarily describe the relationships between older adults and young people. However, there still exists a parallel between the model and the context of my study. Older adults can be seen as existing members of their communities, while younger people gradually integrate into the dynamics of the community until one day they become 'old-timers' in their own right. Alternatively, from a different perspective, it can also be argued that older adults are 'newcomers' to digital practices and that young people are 'old-timers'. In any case, the extent to which either of these possibilities is true will be explored in this study. There are aspects to intergenerational relationships that are rooted in the dynamics of everyday existence and that are influenced by the interactions of people in response to their environment, and so the focus of my study sits at the intersection of theories of situated experience and theories of social structure. Thus, it makes sense to choose a social theory of learning that provides the theoretical tools to look into this while accounting for both components.

In my study, *practice* – as in 'intergenerational practice' – sits at the centre of my project. A practice is a social endeavour, and as such, any practice implies the existence of relationships between individuals. Therefore, in this study, I will use the CoP framework to observe how intergenerational relationships are developed and sustained throughout the course of the study. Additionally, I will look at the existing practices (such as storytelling and intergenerational practice) and the way in which these are transmitted, negotiated, appropriated, modified, or rejected. In the sections below I provide more detail on how and why.

In Figure 1, learning is placed at the centre to illustrate how meaning-making is embedded in the different aspects of the model. Community as a source of learning underpins belonging. While the process of becoming begets identities, learning as experience engenders meaning, and learning as doing engenders practice. Wenger has argued that it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of learning through each of these dimensions. Learning in the context of my study was visible from the different angles shown in Wenger's diagram in Figure 1. I gained insight to the meaning-making process through examination of the community and participants' belonging to that community. Other times, insight stemmed from inquiring into

practices and the doing of those practices and in other instances from learning as an experience. Learning spanned the intergenerational, narrative, and identity aspects, and it was through those moving parts that I was able to shift focus from one to another aspect and attain the picture of our intergenerational communities of practice, using place-based storytelling with the aid of different technologies. In the sections below, I explore the different components and its relevance in my framework.

Practice

Inside this theoretical framework, the concept of 'practice' is essential in explaining the different dynamics by which people participate. As understood within the framework of CoP, practice indicates 'doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do' (Wenger, 1998, p. 3). As Wenger has suggested in the earlier quote on generations, transmission of heritage is just one of the many aspects of a practice and the interlocking of identities, as well as conflicts and mutual dependencies, that have helped me to understand intergenerational practice in my study. In the context of this study, the practices could be the protocols whereby people manifest their identities as part of the community. More specifically, I will be looking at the development of intergenerational relationships as the social practice that is under scrutiny in this study. However, practices could only succeed if participation exists, functioning as a 'process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities' (Wenger, 1998, p. 4, italics in original). For this research, I intended to design a suitable environment for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP. One way of approaching this task was through understanding learning as 'doing in practice'.

Practice is about meaning as an experience of everyday life. Wenger (1998) has suggested that practice 'connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do' (p. 47). For the purposes of this research, practice is used in two different ways. The first refers to a given action that is deemed to be the customary, habitual, or expected procedure or way of doing of something, and the historical, social context for this. The second use is as part of the term 'intergenerational practice', which accounts for the initiatives that aim to bring together older adults and young people, including my own contribution with this project. More specifically, this term is used as an identifier for the exchanges between the different generations as a response to the negotiation of meaning. These interactions could result in generative, collaborative, constructive exchanges, as well as discriminatory, condescending, or even alienating ones.

In my study, there were two main practices in which I centred my attention for analytical purposes: intergenerational and storytelling practices. Because practices can take the form of language, tools, documents, symbols, roles, procedures, assumptions, and worldviews, to name a few examples, it is easier to grasp the concept if one breaks it down. Practice, as a property of a community that give coherence to the relation between practice and community, has three dimensions: namely, 'mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire' Wenger (1998, p. 73).

First, mutual engagement implies that people are consciously committed to their participation in the practices of the community. Mutual engagement helps us recognise that as people engage in actions in which meanings are negotiated with one another, practice exists. Practice resides in a community of people and the relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they do. In my study, signs of mutual engagement took the form of participants' commitment to each other and the activities, the nurturing of the relationships, enthusiasm, and the efforts all participants made to be involved in the project.

Second, joint enterprise describes the existence of a collective goal that gives coherence to the subsistence of the community. Joint enterprise is helpful to acknowledge that practice is a complex, collectively negotiated response to what members of a community of practice understand to be their situation. It is worth remembering what Wenger warns us in this regard:

> '[b]ecause mutual engagement does not require homogeneity, a joint enterprise does not mean agreement in any simple sense. In fact, in some communities, disagreement can be viewed as a productive part of the enterprise. The enterprise is joint not in that everybody believes the same thing or agrees with everything, but in that it is communally negotiated' (Wenger, 1998, p. 78).

For this research, joint enterprise was the collective sum of the individual efforts. I set tasks to bring the participants on board, but ultimately, we all contributed to the making of our intergenerational relationships. Older and younger adults came together in the sessions and continuously negotiated our intergenerational enterprise through sharing our place-based stories.

Third, shared repertoire addresses the combined agreements whereby the community runs and its cohesion is enabled. Through negotiations of meaning and existing commonalities, participants in the study converged in meaningful ways that allowed the activities to take place and more importantly, the CoP to emerge. Among the things that were counted as shared repertoire, I have included ways of communicating, the use (or avoidance) of technologies, understandings of age, and intergenerationality.

It is by analysing whether these criteria are met that it is possible to categorise a community as a CoP. As a result of pursuing a joint enterprise, resources for negotiating meaning are created. These resources become meaningful from the fact that they belong to the practice of a community pursuing an enterprise. A community can produce or adopt elements for its repertoire, and those elements become part of its practice throughout the community's existence. Within the repertoire of a community of practice, one can find routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, symbols, actions, and concepts, among other elements.

By breaking down practice into these three dimensions, it is easier to interrogate and understand practice itself as well as the community in which this practice emerges. However, this approach is only a suggestion for analysis, because in effect these elements of 'practice' are intertwined and difficult to separate. Similarly, in order to facilitate understanding of the negotiation of meaning Wenger suggested looking into the duality of participation and reification is a fundamental aspect to this process. Below, I explore how these terms support my own work.

Participation

A focus on participation complements my AR approach, and for further detail in the implications of this approach, see the next chapter Methodology, section 4.3. Further, I am also using 'participation' as a theoretical tool to understand the data I collected, which is in respect of intergenerational practice.

For Wenger, 'participation' describes the 'social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises' (Wenger, 1998, p. 55). Participation entails an active process of involvement in social enterprises. In the wider context of my research, I talk about participation as involvement of people who took part in the study as it unfolded. There are various levels of participation, such as the result of mastery of a practice, or length of membership, that will enable all members of a CoP to engage differently in the practices. But rather than further dividing participation in this fashion, I agree with Wenger that participation in practice is a marker of the development of that practice, and in the case of my study, I am concerned with intergenerational practice. Thus, participation can be better comprehended by observing the existence of mutual engagement, shared repertoire, and joint enterprise. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Wenger, it is possible to see practice affected in response to *reification*, a concept that is also helpful during the interrogation of practice. Therefore, I have utilised the analytical relationship between

reification and participation proposed by Wenger to interrogate the intergenerational practice in my study.

Reification

Reification is the product of practice and involves the tangible things that come out of that practice. Reification is understood as a process that organises the negotiation of meaning by producing objects that represent our experience. The objects can be physical things like a book, or a photograph, but they can also be intangible, like a computer program, and even abstract, like stereotypes, speech, and language. Both reification and participation are seamlessly woven into our practices. Their complementarity means participation and reification can make up for their respective limitations, of static and dynamic natures respectively. The process of meaning-making in social practice is the result of interplay between participation and reification, with reification occurring when practices become objectified. Since participation and reification are two inseparable dimensions that interact, there cannot be one without the other.

Therefore, in this study, through the design of an intervention where people participated in storytelling activities in intergenerational communities, I intended to observe their involvement and the development of understanding across generations. Reification was interspersed from day one until the end. In addition to that, Wenger (1998) further argues '[w]hat it means to be a person and what it means to be a thing both involve interplay of participation and reification' (p. 70); Consequently, he recognises the reciprocal relation between the social practices that are created and then are reified as we undergo transformation in this process as individuals and as a community. 'If learning in practice is negotiating an identity, and if that identity incorporates the past and the future, then it is in each other that old-timers and newcomers find their experience of history' (p. 157). I argue that in my study, the stories that resulted from our workshops are part of the reification of the practice. Some of the various manifestations of reification include stereotypes of age, understandings of intergenerational practice, and understandings of place, along with engagement with the storytelling practice and the output of the stories that we shared, to name a few. The storytelling method itself in some way supported the reification and negotiation of identities. The main analytical use of the duality of participation-reification was applied in my study in regards to the engagement of participants in the practices being questioned: intergenerational and storytelling. In addition to that, if we consider technology as a tool, and a tool as a reified object, reification is helpful to understand the role of technologies in my study. However, technologies cannot be understood through the interplay of participation-reification since they are incapable of having an experience of meaning (Wenger, 1998, p. 136). In this regard, a helpful notion to inquire into the role of technologies could be the concept of boundary objects.

Boundary objects and brokering

Communities of practice are not isolated. There are abundant communities of practice everywhere. As a result, it is not surprising that some of these communities overlap. To account for the connections between these communities, Wenger borrowed the concept of boundary objects (Star, 1989; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Boundary objects are artefacts that exist in different communities and thus connect them. However, these objects do not necessarily mean exactly the same to each of these communities. This concept is helpful because it provides a theoretical instrument for analysing and designing for convergence via objects and/or practices. For example, the city of Bristol, and the technological tools that we used had different meaning and significance for each one of us and despite these disparities, they served as uniting forces.

Similarly, some practices can and do become 'boundary practices', meaning that these practices create connections between different communities and potentially foster the emergence of new communities of practice. In the case of my study, I considered that both storytelling and intergenerational practices could be better understood when looking at them through the lens of boundary practices.

On the other hand, when thinking of a *human* who is the link between the different communities, one would refer to that individual as a 'broker'. The importance of brokers is that they 'are able to make new connections across communities of practice, enable coordination, and -if they are good brokers -open new possibilities for meaning' (Wenger, 1998, p. 109). For the community in my study, I enter the picture as a broker. In my capacity as the researcher who designed the intervention with initial idea of intergenerational practice and place-based storytelling, and later as the facilitator who mediated the encounters, I take on the role as broker who moves across and within communities.

For my study, I devised activities based on storytelling which, to a certain extent, form part of our shared human experience, no matter where we come from. This universality provided an opportunity for the practice of storytelling to function as a boundary practice. As part of my ambition to design an environment that fostered the emergence of an intergenerational Community of Practice, I focussed on the idea of tailoring a learning experience around narrative. This decision was taken based on my personal experiences of engaging in meaningful conversations with older adults, like my great-grandmother, through the telling of our stories, along with the examples found in the literature (see Chapter 2) that I explored before designing my study. In this case, I organised the experience around the practice of storytelling, and hence it would be one of the practices of the intergenerational community that I wanted to nurture through the mediation of boundary objects.

Because we all belong to a number of CoPs and bring to each our own understandings of practices and objects, negotiations of meaning regarding practices and objects are bound to happen when we join a new group. They particularly occur when we are trying to encourage the emergence of a new CoP. Thus, the concepts of boundary objects, practices, and brokers are relevant in my study because they allow me to theoretically explore these negotiations. Seen at a different level, these negotiations of meaning are tied to the social-historical context of individuals and their personal life stories; Wenger accounts for this with the concept of identity, which is an important aspect of his model.

Identity

Within the Communities of Practice (CoP) framework, it is possible to investigate the contributions of individuals and groups in the making of history via their local processes of learning. Wenger (1998) has further described how identities are a vital element of the CoP: there is an interdependence of identities and the making of new practices within the context of the CoP itself. It is not only the person that is endlessly becoming someone different, but the community itself is also continually undergoing development and change. Wenger describes the role and development of identity as a personal and group characteristic that determine the way in which the community develops. In the CoP framework, the way in which people interact is a result of the interplay of people's identity and the learning process (which itself entails identity formation), as well as belonging to and participating in a community. These notions help me to understand the process in which a Community of Practice emerges by observing how participants from diverse backgrounds interact with one another as they integrate the experience of being in a CoP with their personal history and integrate their personal history into the CoP, thus engaging in learning by becoming. However, the model suggested by Wenger lacks clarity and does not engage with questions of power, fluidity, contradictions between identities and community values. Therefore, I looked at other approaches to identity that could help me to provide more criticality and depth to understand identity in CoP.

Holland and Lave (2001; 2009) have argued that identity is culturally produced. They consider a wider scheme in which traditions and culture-specific knowledge play a major role in the construction of identity. Furthermore, identity stems from social participation. As a result, a culture-specific context, based on space and time, permeates the social interactions that occur within it and thus impact the identities of individuals and the whole group. In this study, which took place in the UK from 2016-2017, I decided it was relevant to consider the prevalence of rapid social and technological development, and globalisation as predominant factors that define the context. Even though social psychology and social learning theories appear as disparate fields, I found considering both stances offered an additional layer of analysis that

accounts for the influence of the social aspects of living in a globalised and increasingly technological world. In this regard, it has been suggested that the self has become a 'reflexive project' (Giddens, 1991, p. 32) as a consequence of learning amongst uncertain conditions and rapid social and technological change among other characteristics of postmodern life (Giddens, 1991). According to Gergen (2001), identity can no longer be understood as a static characteristic or a solid state. He argues that in today's globalised and interconnected world, the different and varied inputs that people receive and experience impact and may result in a number of different facets in people's identities. These various aspects of our identities, which sometimes can even be contradictory between one another, can and do coexist inside ourselves as fundamental parts of our identities. This process becomes even more relevant when we take into account the massive input that technology represents for people, especially with the ease of information access that it grants. The use of identities in the theoretical framework of Communities of Practice lacks depth and requires the support of more complex theoretical concepts to study identities in a nuanced light.

In my study, identities as a theoretical concept have been useful to interrogate the sociohistorical and individual stories that informed participants' worldviews, as in the cultural 'baggage' they carried with them that has influenced how they participated in the research project. Identities equally function as a theoretical lens to understand negotiations and particularly the intergenerational aspect of those negotiations. Through observation of these negotiations, it was possible to gain insight into the emergence of intergenerational communities of practice. In the section below I discuss the concept of meaning which is central to understanding negotiations.

Meaning is created as individuals and communities experience the world as we learn. Wenger (1998., p. 229) has argued that one cannot design learning, but can only design *for* it – that is, one can facilitate it or frustrate it. Similarly, with assumptions that communities of practice organically emerge, it has been suggested that a community of practice cannot be created. However, that does not mean that one cannot encourage, enable, or foster their natural evolution (Wenger et al., 2002). With this study, I wanted to design an intervention that encourages the emergence of a CoP by finding a shared repertoire within an intergenerational grouping of people who share their knowledge of the city of Bristol. To begin, I did not assume that there was a CoP. I began only using the term 'community' to enquire into the existing practices. The idea was to create the conditions for a CoP to emerge with everyone together as a group. Then, building on that knowledge base, I worked to guide them to work towards a joint enterprise: namely, the participation in storytelling, which I hoped would promote mutual engagement through the design of the study. In order to be able to have a manageable unit

for analysis (in the case of this study), the CoP will be understood as the different intergenerational groups of people that took part in it.

CoP criticism/critique

Some of the aspects of this theory have been contested for various reasons. One critique of CoP framework argues that it restrains the scope for people that 'belong' to a specific group. However, as suggested by Wenger, most communities of practice are not self-identified and belonging is something that happens implicitly (Wenger, 1998, p. 7). This idea of belonging is important for my research because it corresponds with the contingency of membership as a result of participants' involvement in the intergenerational practice of my study.

Also, this theory has received criticism mainly related to the term 'community' and the ideas around membership and boundaries within the model. It has been argued that CoP might entail the existence of an impossible and unproblematic learning place (Barton & Tusting, 2005). However, Wenger (1998) did account for the existence of conflict within the CoP: conflict exists as a productive exercise that can foster development of new practices for the renewal of the CoP. To the model, I am bringing critical pedagogy which I hoped would nurture dialogue for conflict resolution. CoP have also been judged for underestimating conflict and power struggles (Keating, 2005; Harris & Shelswell, 2005). This particular critique is the main reason that I considered critical pedagogies to strengthen my theoretical framework.

Despite criticisms, the CoP framework has also been recognised to be well-articulated and well-developed amongst other broad social theories of learning. I have chosen the CoP approach because it concentrates on the transition of practices and inclusion of members within an intergenerational community. Additionally, it enables a platform from which I can observe their encounters and interactions with technology in the process. Notions such as practice, participation, and reification which are key to this theoretical resource seem to me to be a particularly useful lens to investigate the interactions inside the intergenerational groups as they shared their stories. Also, CoPs enable the analysis of phenomena that happens across different settings (inside and outside of mainstream education) and is not restricted to the walls of a classroom, or a workshop or factory, etc., allowing for the consideration of other types of communities, one of which is reflected in this study.

I have previously identified a lack of theory in intergenerational projects as a gap in that literature that I proposed to fill. Thus, I knew it was important to devise a strong theoretical basis for my study. So far, I have argued that CoP would allow me to design for the emergence of an intergenerational group. Along the way, I have found aspects that could be improved, especially regarding power relations and reflexivity, as well as the focus on ubiquitous change. As it will be discussed in the following chapter, CT has underpinned the ethos and explicit

research design. To address the inadequacies of CoP, I considered Freire's humanist philosophy as suited for the job. In the next section, I discuss the elements of critical pedagogy that I have found most useful to provide depth and critical complexity to my theoretical framework.

3.2 Critical Pedagogy

In his work, Paulo Freire has emphasised the central role of education in the creation of a better society (1972; 1979; 1996; 2004). He did so by placing philosophy of education as a key aspect of social critique and transformation. Thus, critical pedagogies have called for fulfilled lives for individuals in a more equitable society. Transformation occurs when learners' agency is acknowledged; education begins to shift from within, and the voices of these agents usher change.

At the core of these processes, there are two elements that enable negotiation of meaning: critical dialogue and reflection. In my intervention, I combined aspects of critical pedagogy to complement the theoretical framework. For example, I aimed to foster critical dialogue and critical reflection. Critical dialogue is understood as the instrument for communication whereby people can engage in conscious critical examination and problematizing of underlying structures, ideologies, and processes (Freire, 1996). In this case, I acknowledge that by taking a critical approach, I sought to understand the process of change.

These principles underpin the research design and influences the design of the intervention. Critical dialogue and critical reflection enable rationalisation of the social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Jennings et al., 2010) and enable the potential to transform this reality (Robertson & Dale, 2009; Laman et al., 2012). In connection with these ideas, critical reflection is understood as the purposeful interpretation of our social reality that is guided by the intention to reveal invisible structures (Dewey, 1933; Cox, 1981; Eraut, 1995), ideologies, and processes (Argyris and Schon, 1974, cited in Greenwood, 1993).

I had the intention to bring a critical approach to learning that was participatory and entailed a bottom-up approach which was responsive to the interests and needs of the learners, as well as being engaged in practice and purposeful, as opposed to existing or prevalent top-down schooling models. The latter might have benefits for some purposes, but there is a need to shift our educational models for the world today, acting today.

My research is dedicated to older and young people. With this study I wanted to create a meaningful experience of learning that could open the door to sustained social interaction that benefitted those who have been historically oppressed in the city where I lived. Hence, the

need to incorporate a critical pedagogy that would also account for power when utilising Wenger's model.

With the CoP elements of my theoretical framework, I devised an intergenerational experience and the space that held the moving parts of the intervention. I used critical pedagogy for both: to resolve some of the critiques of CoP and also to compliment the goals of AR, which include taking action and making a change.

The main components of critical pedagogy that I have used to combine with my CoP framing also relate to my participatory ethos. As such, despite having a goal established by me as the researcher, I designed my study to be responsive to the interests of participants. In this sense, CoP was the theoretical lens that helped me understand what was happening and critical pedagogy gave me the tools to design and understand how the intergenerational practice blossomed into an intergenerational community of practice. As a result, the 'critical' from critical pedagogy permeated my overall design. Incidentally, there is a large body of literature that explores the critical pedagogy of 'place', which has been helpful to unpack the role that place has played in my study. In the following sections, I discuss the *critical* approach to place and how it manifests itself in pedagogical practice.

Critical pedagogy of place

There is growing interest in enquiry around place and intergenerationality as indicated in the previous chapter (Mannion & Gilbert, 2015). In trying to bring together 'the best of both worlds', Gruenewald (2003a) has advocated for a conscious synthesis in the effort to blend 'critical pedagogy' and 'place-based education'. His main argument stems from the idea that both of these traditions are 'mutually supportive'. He has suggested that critical pedagogies' sole interest is human relationships, which he claims are not at odds with the spatial aspects inherent to social experience that he has identified in his analysis of critical pedagogy. About pedagogies of place, he has observed that by studying space, in working on issues related to place which then help to bring people together and connect back into community life, student engagement is heightened. And this approach offers a richer understanding that incorporates experiential and intergenerational learning in a multidisciplinary exercise that can have a potential positive impact on community life (Gruenewald, 2002; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Smith, 2002; Theobald & Curtiss, 2000). Gruenewald (2003a) finishes his argument by defining a critical pedagogy of place. He promotes decolonisation coupled with the recovery of non-commodified cultural patterns (Mannion & Adey, 2011, p. 38). Gruenewald attempts to bring together place-based and critical approaches by grounding the abstract ideals of critical pedagogy in both practical experience and an ecological critique of the local. The ultimate goal of a critical pedagogy of place is to recognise that 'experience has a geographical context'

which bind the ‘critical social and ecological concerns into one's understanding of place, and the role of places in education’ (Gruenewald, 2003a, p. 9). The appeal of this approach is that learning becomes valuable as it responds to the environments and communities in which it takes place. Through contextualising learning, there are increased opportunities for tailoring education that is relevant for the place and that contributes to the betterment of communities (Gruenewald et al., 2007).

In response to Gruenewald’s proposed ‘critical pedagogy of place’, Bowers (2008) has severely criticised the ‘contradictory effort’. Bowers’ main contention is that by blending critical pedagogy and pedagogies of place, we would be taking for granted its key concepts of ‘reinhabitation’ and ‘decolonization’ as abstract concepts. The danger of this, he further argues, stems from the intrinsic threat posed by generalisations which in this case would prescribe change on the basis of one-size-fits-all approaches. Bowers (2008) also argues for using Geertz’s (1973) idea of ‘thick description’ to develop an understanding of local intergenerational knowledge as ‘a core feature of place-based education’. In this case, Bowers understands intergenerationality as an aspect of learning that builds on cultural knowledge and sustains traditions. Bowers warns us that the core problem is the lack of a deep knowledge of cultures, which would make possible Gruenewald’s critical pedagogy of place. Furthermore, Bower has ventured to hint that Gruenewald’s concepts are virtually unattainable by claiming that ‘a critical pedagogy of place is an oxymoron’ (Bowers, 2008 pp. 327,330,333).

Stevenson, on the other hand, has tried to argue for a more conciliatory approach. While recognising that there are certain caveats in Gruenewald’s proposition, Stevenson (2008) disagrees with the assertion that a critical pedagogy of place is an oxymoron as suggested by Bowers. Stevenson has emphasised the nuances resulting in the definition of place in a globalised world. At a time when the changing notion of ‘local’ has geographical and socio-cultural implications of ‘place’, it is paramount to acknowledge how place-based pedagogies are defined and practised. An example of this reckoning has been theorised in the Funds of Knowledge body of work (González and Moll, 2002), which broadens the concept of place-based beyond the physical sites pertaining to a school and includes out-of-school social and virtual sites. Stevenson (2008) observed that Gruenewald (2003a) has emphasised alignments of place-based education and critical pedagogy, while Bowers (2008) focuses exclusively on divergences or contradictions. Stevenson finishes his argument by stating that even though there are both junctures and disjunctures between the two traditions, social change is not free from such continuities and discontinuities ‘and so a critical pedagogy of place (broadly defined) can be commensurate with the disjunctures or divergences with which we must live and from which we must learn’ (Stevenson, 2008, p. 358).

These critical discussions of place are informative here because they add depth to the concept of 'place' as it stands in the study. As I have engaged with intergenerational explorations of place with this research, critical pedagogies of place have helped me understand the significance of place as an anchoring force for my study; this significance appears in the design and implementation of my research in responding to the specific circumstances of the particular research sites (e. g. the Bristol Secondary School and Bristol Extra Care Residence), as well as grounding the storytelling 'in place'. An additional layer to the concept of place has more of a methodological rationale and implications. Before a methodological discussion (see Chapter 4), the theoretical grounding of place responsiveness is discussed below.

Place-responsive education

Mannion and Adey (2011) have further discussed that even though 'intergenerational' and 'critical' aspects have been included in the 'critical pedagogy of place' and other place-based education arguments, these aspects are subordinated to others, for example 'community'. As a result, Mannion and Gilbert (2015) have put forward a notion of pedagogy in which the critical and intergenerational have a greater role.

My notion of place has to do with different generations thinking about their own lives in Bristol, but it also involves Bristol as a place in relation to other lives that have been lived. Starting from the situatedness of learning that sustains the CoP framework, I understand place as it has been employed by Mannion and colleagues (Mannion & Adey, 2011; Mannion & Gilbert, 2015). They argue that place-responsive education itself is a reciprocal intergenerational practice requiring the ongoing production of new relations between adult and young people through place-change processes. They suggest that intergenerational education is always a situated or emplaced activity and therefore offers potential for improved ecological or social justice (though these improvements may not necessarily result from the activity). They further argue that intergenerational practice is an emplaced activity that advances a society for all ages through increasing reciprocal communication and exchanges of many kinds between people from any two generations for the benefit of individuals, communities, and places. While further empirical research would be warranted, it is likely that viewing intergenerational practice as a place-based activity will allow us to see how new relationships between the generations are produced in/through/by new and different kinds of place because practices need locations for their performance and, through these performances, relationships can be changed. If intergenerational practice sets out to reconfigure intergenerational relationships, then it must include an aim of recognizing what reciprocal, intergenerational responsibilities we may have for each other and for places. Again, theoretically at least, we can argue that it

is through these place-based approaches to changing relations that we and our places are reciprocally constructed.

In the following section I conclude the chapter with an overview and summary of my theoretical framework.

3.3 Intergenerational + Learning + place-based storytelling + critical pedagogies

Use of life story approaches works well with the theoretical framework of Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998) in the sense that, for Wenger, learning emerges during the negotiation of meaning as people participate in telling and listening to stories together. In addition, this phenomenon can be studied by not only analysing social structures, but also by observing social practices, e.g. language, storytelling, interaction, and identity work.

The framework of CoP has been utilised to study virtual worlds, and management and education worlds (Barton & Tusting, 2005; Keaton, 2005) and it has mainly been used to explore the integration of 'new generations' in the workplace. In the present study, this framework is relevant since I intend to tap into people's experiences and to strengthen their links as a community.

As noted in this chapter, the CoP framework has been criticised for not addressing sufficiently power struggles (Barton & Tusting, 2005). However, Wenger's (1998) approach to the process of learning as a negotiation of meanings, identity, community and practice within a CoP provides the conditions to inquire into the existing social structures and practices of intergenerational groups. When combined with a critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972) the scope of learning in and of itself shifts to learning as a meaningful experience. Therefore, understanding and problematizing the current situation and those things that are 'taken for granted' can be challenged and produce change. As was mentioned in the previous sections, I have chosen the theoretical resources of CoP to investigate the current situation (e.g. existing intergenerational practice, stereotypes, understandings and aspirations), but throughout this chapter, I have made the case for a more critical approach to CoP, integrating critical pedagogy and place-based concepts to strengthen the theoretical framework.

The elements of *practice*, *participation*, and *reification* from Wenger's (1998) CoP have been identified as useful for developing an understanding of the existing situation in order to contribute to the creation of intergenerational communities of practice. These elements can also be used as indicators of change. It is through the negotiation of participation and reification that practice and learning are enacted. In the context of my study, I build on existing intergenerational practices (practice + community) inviting participation (participation) which

in turn promotes contestation of negative stereotypes and creation of new intergenerational practices (reification) which at the same time is enacted through people's interactions.

Being the facilitator of the interactions (the 'broker'), with my research I aimed to design an intervention using different technologies (reification/boundary objects) to enable storytelling (practice) with the primary objective to foster the emergence of an intergenerational CoP. I organised activities with the intention to foster participants' engagement and participation (participation/reification) while critically considering their previous knowledge and experience of their intergenerational practice with a participatory ethos that speaks to my methodological approach and the critical pedagogies underpinnings.

Because I put practice at the centre of my approach, I focused on its three dimensions: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire. I designed for an intervention that would encourage mutual engagement around the practice of intergenerational storytelling. In the process, we were building a shared repertoire for our groups in the form of tools, understandings, meanings, and stories. And we engaged with the third dimension: responding to being in our groups negotiating the meaning of a joint enterprise.

My rationale for combining critical theory and Communities of Practice is that by using critical pedagogy, I could both resolve some of the critiques of CoP, such as power struggles, and further compliment the goals of AR, which include taking action and making change, which would offer a contribution to knowledge.

Regarding my understanding of place within this study, I have drawn on discussions of place: critical pedagogy of place, place-based education, and place-responsive education. The discussion of place within this chapter builds on the notion of placed-resources from Prinsloo that was reviewed in the previous chapter. Thus, there are two layers to the concept of place in this dissertation. The first one is related to the city of Bristol, which helped me ground my study in a geographical location that everyone in the study had some experience with. The second layer of place emerged as an undeniable asset, feature, or element of the intergenerational exercise, as the actual physical location of our encounters with their corresponding socio-cultural baggage and understanding of the landscape.

In the following chapter I will present the design and implementation of my study in detail.

Chapter 4. Research Design and Methodology

In this chapter I reintroduce the research questions and explain the critical theory (CT) philosophical underpinnings of this study. I then present the research approach, action

research (AR), along with justification in relation to the adopted theoretical perspectives that were discussed in the previous chapter. I then proceed to discuss the 'everyday' ethics approach I have taken. This discussion is followed by a description of the intervention and how it was implemented in the two research setting sites: a secondary school and an older adults' residence. For each site, I discuss the selection of participants along with the data collection and data analysis methods informed by the theories that frame this research, specifically Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998) and critical pedagogies (Freire, 1972, 1996, 2004; hooks, 1994, 2003).

4.1 Research questions

In Chapter 1, I described the intergenerational picture in the UK. This research addresses the lack of intergenerational encounters and proposes an approach that involves storytelling and the use of digital resources to support these opportunities.

The overarching research aim of this thesis has been to explore different ways to use storytelling in intergenerational groups to foster communication and understanding between generations using the existing technologies, thus fostering good relationships. My research has been framed with three questions:

RQ 1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?

RQ 2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?

RQ 3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?

4.2 Philosophical stance

At the core of this research project lays the assumption that people's reality is created through interaction with others, which in turn is affected by the history and culture of the society they are part of; thus, reality is socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Therefore, it is belonging to and participation in the social sphere that shapes what is to be known (Crotty, 1998). These kinds of social theories are not value-free; on the contrary, they are developed from someone's perspective in a specific context to fulfil a specific purpose and are shaped by the accompanying and specific social, political and historical, time and space conditions (Cox, 1981). Cox (1996) further argued that theory can achieve two different objectives:

> One is a simple, direct response: to be a guide to help solve the problems posed within the terms of the particular perspective which was the point of departure. The other is more reflective upon the process of theorizing itself: to become clearly aware of the perspective which gives rise to theorizing, and its relation to other perspectives (to achieve a perspective on perspectives); and to open up the possibility of choosing a different valid perspective from which the problematic becomes one of creating an alternative world. (p. 88)

The first accepts the world as it is and attempts to find a solution to a previously identified problem, based on perspectives derived from the original context and addressed within its terms (problem-solving theory). The second goes beyond a superficial evaluation of 'the problem' to *problematize* the context itself in order to reflect on the process of theorising, enabling new perspectives that produce change (critical theory).

Thus, in taking a CT approach, I can address some of the 'missing links' in areas of my research without these specific limitations of problem-solving theories. In other words, if the purpose of social theory is only concerned with addressing an 'isolated' problem, the result is a missed opportunity to choose new perspectives which construct the problem differently and may ultimately create a new reality. Because the process of change is central to my study, in this section I will discuss how it connects with CT and how this theory has influenced the research.

Paulo Freire (1972; 1996) has argued that if the main purpose of critical theory is to reveal social reality with the intention to change it, it is the people's imagined new reality that will make change possible.

My aim has therefore been to enable opportunities to create spaces for critical dialogue where people from different generations get to experience first-hand people from other age-groups and better understand their motivations and dreams. In addition to that, I believe that, based on their understanding of reality and through a process of critical reflection, people can actively participate in the transformation of their lives and realities. Therefore, the philosophical groundings for my study are based on critical theory, which accounts for the human abilities of self-reflection and action in the pursuit of a better life.

This critical theory philosophical positioning runs at the core of every aspect of my research. In the study, I organised activities aimed at increasing mutual understanding and recognising points of convergence. With my study, I intended to enable spaces where participants from across diverse age-groups could engage directly with one another, both as part of their social encounters and by the sharing and creation of a digital story. It is through these encounters that critical reflection could be encouraged as a conscious exercise to question established

views on intergenerational relationships and foster the creation of a new reality based on their personal experience after having shared our stories and perspectives.

4.3 Research approach: Action Research

I intended to design and produce an environment that encouraged intergenerational participation and self-reflection through understanding for the improvement of their relationships; thus, the selected methodology allows for the elements of critical reflection, critical dialogue, participation, and action. The transformative potential within critical theory in combination with the reflexive exercise relates to the principles of AR which seek understanding that leads to change (Stringer, 1999; McNiff and Whitehead, 2013).

Before going any further I would like to make an annotation about 'participation'. As it was mentioned in section 3.3.3 *participation* has a theoretical dimension with regards to my analytical framework. In here I discuss a second layer addressing the implications of this term given my methodological approach.

'Participation' is a complex and highly debated term that has implications for AR, the approach which I have chosen for this study. According to Fine, participation in AR entails the questioning of insider-outsider dynamics, as well as enabling the agency of individuals who belong to marginalised groups (Fine, 1994; Fine and Torre, 2004). In addition to that, Cammarota (2006) further highlighted the active engagement of individuals as a way of reclaiming their voices, particularly when those voices have been neglected and silenced (Cammarota and Romero, 2006). Cahill (2004) has observed the nurturing relationship between participation in research and the development of agency. This notion has extended to young people who collaborate in research as they learn to challenge perceptions of pre-existing ideas of research (Cahill, 2007a; 2007b; Fine and Torre, 2004).

In my study, I understand participation as the active engagement of individuals in my study as put forward by Fine (1994). Since I am also interested in more critical approaches to participation, this notion of participation works well alongside my critical pedagogy approach because it underlines the importance of people and their conscious involvement in the study. This notion of participation further emphasises agency and the reclaiming of voice that is advocated in critical pedagogies.

My intention was to give participants the opportunity to build their own narratives and engage in meaningful exchanges with different generations. I hope that this will contribute to efforts toward overcoming existing stereotypes that create social division. Also, the stories that come from people's own voices enable them to actively participate in the creation of a different reality

and meaning making, for example by engaging in new practices, challenging stereotypes, etc. I designed a qualitative study in line with those beliefs and values. With this study, my aim is to investigate a process of building an intergenerational CoP through the sharing of stories and using technology. Guided by a critical theory stance, I hold that it is possible to stimulate reflection on existing intergenerational tensions and foster the creation of new ways of understanding each other. Based on the critical review of different intergenerational projects presented in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), I have identified the issues that have not been addressed in research and that need further investigation, which include the use of theory to design and evaluate an intergenerational programme, and the exploration of a more participatory approach to intergenerational relationship building. Additionally, I identified the methodological resources utilised and thus designed this study to adapt some of the methods that could be useful for my endeavour.

AR is a methodology that has been associated with CT, and it has been utilised to encourage emancipation through engagement in community projects (Reason, 1994; Stringer, 1999). Thus, with intention to enquire into the creation of an intergenerational community that problematises its power struggles I chose this approach. According to Carr and Kemmis (1986) AR aims at 'improvement of a *practice*; secondly, the improvement of the *understanding* of the practice by its practitioners; and thirdly, the improvement of the *situation* in which the practice takes place' (p. 165, italics in original).

In addition to the apparent intersections between CT and AR, it has been claimed that by adopting AR, it is possible to harness the lack of theoretical clarity in CT on *how* to produce change (Kemmis, 2001). Although its true origins cannot be traced to a single author, the earliest instances of AR emerged in response to the social need for change through a democratic process from the work of Dewey (1933). AR has mainly extended through community projects for social change and also as generator of democratic knowledge within the workplace (Murray, 1990, cited in Pasmore, 2001). After Paulo Freire's (1972) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, AR gained popularity in educational research, and over the years, the enormous potential of AR as an emancipatory practice has been explored (Hatton & Smith, 1995; McNiff & Whitehead, 2006; Somekh, 2006).

Reason and Bradbury (2001) have defined, AR as

> a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical

> solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (p. 1)

Even though this definition is two decades old, the participatory aspects of AR are still relevant in our societies as we see the need for more democratisation of knowledge production, along with a global move to decentralisation in other areas (Coghlan & Shani, 2015; Lykes and Mallona, 2008; Rahman, 2008; Silverman, 2015) and in particular for my study as I was interested in creating a research project *with* people for people.

Therefore, in alignment with my philosophical stance, I have chosen the AR methodology to carry out my research project because it opens the space for an inquiry into the process of change. As McNiff and Whitehead (2006) have explained AR 'implies a process of people interacting together and learning with and from one another in order to understand their practices and situations, and to take purposeful action to improve them' (p. 25). In the context of my research, I understand intergenerational encounters as the practice that is being interrogated (intergenerational practice).

Regarding participation, in the AR body of literature there has been ongoing discussion on the boundaries between AR and *participatory action research* (PAR) (Bradbury, 2015; Brydon-Miller, 2001; Fine, 2010; McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). If we consider that AR and PAR constitute either end of a spectrum and understanding the distance between them as a continuum, my study fluctuated in the spectrum as it was mainly researcher-led (see Figure 2).

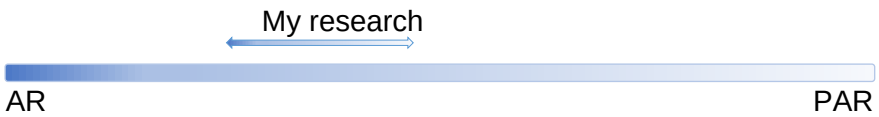


Figure 2. AR-PAR continuum.

I was interested in designing a process of knowledge production in a more democratic way which included voices that would normally not be heard. Hence, I created an intervention based on an AR design where I attempted to accommodate collective commitment to research, engagement in collective action, and the construction of strong relationships between the researcher and participants across all phases of the study (McIntyre, 2008). In other words, my study followed an AR design with some participatory elements to it. In the early stages of my doctoral path, I planned to use PAR. However, due to the length of the study and other constrains, this approach could not be guaranteed as it will be explained throughout this chapter.

AR is a cyclical process that utilises emergent knowledge to shape the research design. The cycles are usually formed by four stages: exploration, planning, action, and reflection (Stringer,

1999; Somekh, 2006). During the exploration stage, situations that require investigation are identified. Consequently, a plan is devised in order to tackle the issues that have been discovered in the previous stage. Subsequently, the plan is implemented to observe its efficacy. Reflection and evaluation of the outcomes of the previous stage provide insight into the next iteration when the following cycle starts (McNiff and Whitehead, 2006).

Because of the cyclical nature of AR, it can be represented as a spiral. The AR process involves self-reflection and succession of different stages for exploration, planning, action, and reflection (Burns, 2010; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). An ideal design of AR prepares the stages to be fluid, open and responsive leaving room for new learning to integrate from experience (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). Hence, for my research, I first implemented the exploratory pilot that helped me design two additional cycles. Each of the cycles was comprised of the different stages of AR: explore, plan, action, and reflection.

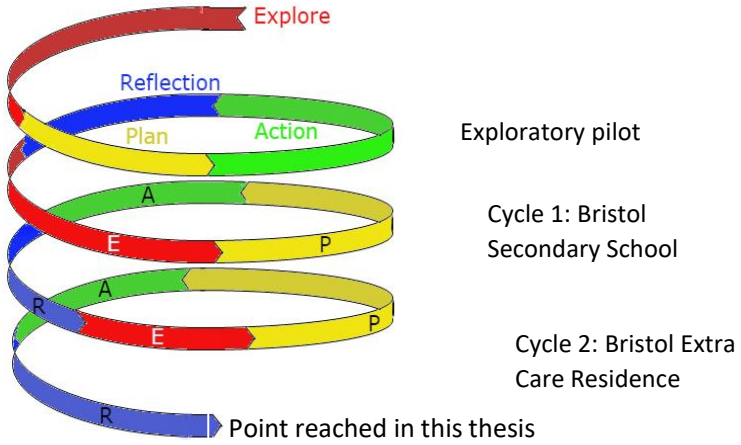


Figure 3. Action research design

Figure 3 illustrates the AR phases in my study and the corresponding cycles which begin at the top and follow down the spiral. In table 1 below, they are integrated with a timeline and a broad indication of activities carried out at the time of each cycle and phase. These will be explained in more detail in forthcoming sections.

Time	Cycle	Stage	Activities
Sep-14		Explore	Literature review
Jan-16		Plan	Design intervention
Dec-16		Action	Run intervention
Mar-16	Exploratory pilot	Reflection	Modify intervention
Apr-16		Explore	Access research site
Jul-16		Plan	Modify intervention
Nov-16	Cycle 1: Bristol Secondary School	Action	Run intervention

		Reflection	Researcher's journal
May-15	Cycle 2: Bristol Extra Care Residence	Explore	Access research site
Mar-17		Plan	Modify intervention
Sep-17		Action	Run intervention
		Reflection	Researcher's journal

Table 1. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities

4.4 Preparatory ethics discussion

Before beginning my study, it was important that I considered a wide range of ethical issues. It has been argued that working with older and younger people separately is already a cause for concern, given that both groups are potentially vulnerable. I had to further consider the implications for my study which involved bringing those two groups together. In this section, I present a short summary of the ethical guidelines that I created from initial reflections as discussed with colleagues.

Within the community based Participatory Research, Banks et al. (2013) have advocated for an 'everyday ethics' approach; its most important aspect is to recognise ethics not just as a one-time produced document that people fill in and forget about. On the contrary, ethics run at the core of the execution of the research project. The researcher must continually operate with ethical sensitivity so she can try to make weighed ethical decisions in each situation. Consequently, I prepared a preliminary set of principles to be followed by me and participants, as shown below:

1. Personal integrity: act with honesty and inspire trustworthiness.

2. Mutual respect: respect each other.

3. Inclusion: encourage participation.

4. Communication: be honest and open to dialogue.

Following these principles, I first designed an exploratory pilot in order to trial some of the methods. This initial discussion helped me frame my research in the ethical groundings of conduct. The principles were discussed with participants at the start of each cycle in order to establish our own conduct guidelines for the study. For this model to work, a consistent process had to exist wherein informed consent was sought throughout the study and until its completion (Balch and Mertens, 1999). Therefore, in addition to the initial information sheet and the consent form given to participants to start the study (Appendices A and B), I carefully explained the activities at each event and participants were fully informed throughout the process about what would happen to their data. However, the issue did not end here: in

connection with the data that has been produced and how it is reported, a common concern across qualitative research is around the voice of participants and how they become represented in the study (Bornat, 2001; 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ellis & Bochner, 1996). I intended to encourage participation: our communications and the decisions taken have not stemmed from a polarised situation where participants either agreed with what was being said or withdraw from the study, unless that this was their sincere decision. An example of this was the conversation about participants' names. Some of them chose to select the names that I would use as pseudonyms, while others were happy to be assigned one, feeling confident that they knew how their data would be handled.

After the initial ethical discussion with a colleague, I produced a document that reported the ethical guidelines this research was going to follow in order to comply with the University of Bristol regulations and so that I could officially begin my research (see Appendix C). The dialogues with colleagues highlighted the dynamic nature of ethical considerations (Banks, 2011; Banks et al., 2013). Ethical implications comprise a set of considerations that run through the process of conducting research. For that reason, I have integrated the ethical discussion within each of the relevant sections.

As well as ethical considerations, reflexivity is another process that goes on along with the study. 'Reflexivity is the process of becoming self-aware. Researchers make regular efforts to consider their own thoughts and actions in light of different contexts' (Begoray & Banister, 2010, p.789). Researcher' reflexivity is to consider what aspects of the research have a direct connection with me being a researcher, such as how the different decisions I make can bring one result and not another (Green et al., 2011). For that reason, I will be also incorporating the ideas within the text, instead of having an overall section detached from the events that I am reflecting on.

4.5 The study

My study consisted of three cycles: the 'Exploratory Pilot', 'Cycle 1: Bristol Secondary School', and 'Cycle 2: Bristol Extra Care Residence'. Each of these cycles was an iteration of an intervention that I designed to help me frame the intergenerational encounters as the practice to be interrogated. I created the intervention for the Exploratory Pilot to be able to tailor it for the following cycles. The basic idea of the intervention was to run a set of storytelling workshops that allowed participants to use the Map Your Bristol website (see Chapter 2). This activity further developed into trialling different technologies (digital and non-digital) to share our stories as a means to establish a relationship between participants as explained later in this chapter.

There were two research sites: an older adults' residence and a secondary school. In this research, I considered older adults as people who were over 60 years of age but welcomed those who also 'self-identified' as older even if they were under 60. For the younger participant counterpart, I had originally thought to invite people under 21 as this was popular criteria in the literature (Duvall & Zint, 2007; Kuehne & Melville, 2014). But due to the outcomes of the school cycle (Cycle 1) and practical reasons for the extra care home (BECR) cycle (Cycle 2), I included young people up to age 28. In the section focused on selection of participants later in this chapter, I discuss these decisions in more detail. Working in different settings meant that the study developed differently according to the characteristics of the place, the relationships with participants, and other aspects. To understand how these dynamics varied, I include here a description of the context of each cycle. I also discuss how working in the different settings was a result of learning from Cycle 1 and therefore moving spaces for Cycle 2. Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter, I will explain chronologically what occurred at the research sites, providing detailed information about the research sites, access, design, technologies used, implementation, and learning.

4.5.1 Exploratory pilot

The pilot was run in an extra care home that I had access to and that I chose due to practical reasons that will be developed further in this section.

Bristol Extra Care Residence (BECR) *[1]

In 2008, BECR was purposely built as an extra care home in Bristol. According to the Bristol City Council 'Extra care housing, sometimes known as assisted living, is for older people with care and support needs who want to be active and independent'. The residents of BECR are always welcoming of new projects and keen to be involved with the local and wider community. BECR runs regular activities. Non-residents can come for activities or events and their doors are open for visitors. I first encountered BECR in 2015 because they were looking for someone to help the residents with computers. I was happy to provide my technological expertise and spend time with the residents. I thought I maybe could meet some key contacts who were involved in projects with older adults in case I needed advice. Also, I thought I could gain some experience working with older adults in the UK.

Recruiting and selecting participants

In that voluntary role, I volunteered to helped out on a regular basis, providing the residents with computer support. My activities there ranged from fixing a printer to helping residents

[1] Names have been changed for confidentiality reasons.

send emails and do online shopping. At the time, I was in the process of leaving behind my existentialist self and reading Foucault day and night. I struggled not to see power relationships everywhere. I dreamed of participants having a particular interest for my study. Naturally, when I started searching for a research site, I was slightly reluctant to bring the question to the people in BECR, because I did not want them to feel compromised. Eventually, I decided that I was just going to ask the residents there if they wanted to take part in a short trial to provide feedback on the intervention. This reflection strengthened my commitment to design a research project that would allow me to provide something in return for their participation there and then. Also, I chose BECR as a starting point because there is a dedicated room in their facilities that provides internet connection and other technological and digital resources for residents, which was convenient and accessible for the adults who would sign up to participate. I recruited younger participants through the snowballing technique (Punch, 2002), starting with my friends and colleagues. Two 14-year-old boys and two 12-year-old girls came forward. There were two adults that volunteered from BECR.

Running the exploratory pilot

I started in January 2016. I ran three sessions in which people talked about different topics. Participants were given prompts for stories (e. g. favourite places) and then they had the opportunity to share their place-based stories with each other. There were two arrangements: intergenerational group discussion and intergenerational pairs/threes.

My main idea was to introduce them to the Map Your Bristol tool so that they could use it to share stories. I intended for the participants to explore some of its features and to eventually publish their stories on the online platform, which had captivated my attention; however, as the research progressed, I reconsidered this decision and incorporated other tools.

For this pilot cycle, I arranged for the meetings to take place at BECR it was convenient for the adults and the younger participants' parents agreed to commute there. The second to last session one of the older participants suffered an injury whilst getting ready for the session. I delayed the run of the following session until she was available again. In the following cycles, I was aware that health could be a recurring issue, so I made sure I had contact details to check in with participants about attending sessions. I also prioritised their accessibility requirements to provide a comfortable environment and minimise risks.

I selected Map Your Bristol because I thought it blended in elements relevant to my research: namely place-based storytelling and technology. Participants found it interesting, but there were a few issues with the accessibility because it was not very well understood how to use it or what to do with it. I thought that the experience with this tool could have been enhanced with a focused prior training. In relation to technologies used, I noticed that the older

participants brought notebooks and pens along with them and I noted that I should include pen and paper in my list of technologies for the following cycle.

From this exercise, I observed that three key aspects of the intervention I was designing were motivation, settings, and topic of interest. *Motivation* meant that I had to find something that was enough to encourage participants to be part of the study; for the following cycle, I considered offering the participants a prize at the end of the intervention. *Settings* refer to the general environment that I was creating along with the participants. For this reason, I tried to provide snacks and refreshments that made people feel welcome and cared for. Finally, I understood that the interventions should be focused on a *topic of common interest* for all participants. My choice of stories in relation to Bristol was inspired by place-based storytelling literature (Hatton-Yeo & Ohsako, 2000; Granville, 2002; Mercken, 2002; Springate et al., 2008) and since it fit with the aims of my research, as has been pointed out in the literature review (Chapter 2). After testing its popularity amongst participants, this topic was well received.

Reflecting on the exploratory pilot

From these workshops I focused on trialling three aspects: the structure of the sessions, the use of place-based storytelling, and the Map Your Bristol tool itself. After these encounters, I decided to design a longer intervention so that the relationship between participants could be better developed. In this exercise, I had trialled a basic structure for the storytelling workshops that enabled people's conversations and sharing of our stories. In addition to that, participants commented that the main digital tool was difficult to use, so I figured we could have more time to look into this aspect and explore other non-digital technologies. At 90 minutes, the length of the workshops was acceptable, but I needed to include more sessions in the intervention. I also learnt that providing food was a good way to promote a friendly environment that encouraged conversation, as suggested by participants.

For the sake of clarity and conciseness, in the remainder of this thesis I will focus on the two cycles that followed the pilot, being the Bristol Secondary School cycle (Cycle 1) and the BECR cycle (Cycle 2).

4.5.2 Bristol Secondary School Cycle – an unexpected choice

In this section, I follow through the stages of Cycle 1: Bristol Secondary School as presented earlier. Table 2 shows the timeline and activities in relation to the stages of AR for the BSS cycle highlighted in light green.

Time	Cycle	Stage	Activities
Sep-14		Explore	Literature review
Jan-16		Plan	Design intervention
Dec-16		Action	Run intervention
Mar-16	Exploratory pilot	Reflection	Modify intervention
Apr-16		Explore	Access research site
Jul-16		Plan	Modify intervention
Nov-16		Action	Run intervention
	Cycle 1: Bristol Secondary School	Reflection	Researcher's journal
May-15		Explore	Access research site
Mar-17		Plan	Modify intervention
Sep-17		Action	Run intervention
	Cycle 2: Bristol Extra Care Residence	Reflection	Researcher's journal

Table 2. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities (BSS cycle)

Explore: Accessing research site

After running the pilot, I had a number of ideas for continuing my research. I wanted to have different groups to contrast or perhaps run a year's worth of storytelling workshops. Basically, I was overly optimistic, inexperienced, and naïve. The least 'wild' of these initiatives was running three parallel groups for storytelling in different settings. In this section, I explain how these ideas for research initiatives brought me to Bristol Secondary School.

Because the idea of my study was to foster a positive change with the participants, it was carried out with careful consideration of possible threats to the fulfilment of this enterprise (within reason). A primary aspect to consider was the participants' ages (older and younger), and so I needed to find a safe way to approach potential participants. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2017) have suggested, especially in the case of young people, safety can be achieved through contacting organisations to which potential participants already belonged. I was confident that I had taken a step forward in establishing trustworthiness with organisations because I had already completed the paperwork to obtain a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check when I joined BECR.

As I had learnt from the pilot, I wanted to find people who might be already interested in intergenerational work, technology, or storytelling, but it would be ideal if the interests intersected all categories. Therefore, I strove to find groups which also indicated these interests so that it would be easier to approach them and invite new people for my study.

As suggested for research within institutions, I sought the help of gatekeepers to approach both age groups. For the pilot, my first point of contact had been via the BECR's Administrator, who introduced me to the Senior Community Development worker at Over-55s-Social. Over-

55s-Social is a charity organisation that facilitates social activities for people 55 years of age and older. I had met a key contact who had connections with a number of secondary schools; I then contacted Bristol-U, a youth centre in Bristol that organises activities for young people. With the help of the Intergenerational Senior Community Development Worker at Over-55s-Social Bristol, I joined three community groups supported by the charity. These groups organise intergenerational activities and activities focused on history and technology. In order to invite people to the research and start building rapport, I started negotiating access with the different gatekeepers, e.g. events coordinators, managers, headmasters, teachers, and carers, to name a few.

I spoke to the gatekeepers in the different organisations and clubs and began attending their sessions regularly; some were meeting weekly and others met monthly. Because of this direct contact with the older adults and young people, I decided to produce a leaflet (Appendix D) that briefly explained the key aspects of the study. In this way, potential participants could take away the leaflet as an invitation to take part in the study. I have chosen to do so because leaflets are an accessible way of communicating essential information about research (McMurdo et al., 2011). The leaflet (detail from which is pictured in Figure 4) explains in non-academic language the aims of my research and the images and large print make it accessible and easy to read for both young and old participants.

Figure 4. Inside of the leaflet.

From these encounters, I received a positive response and people accepted to take part in my research. At the time, I was still planning to run my research at the school alongside another two groups with people from a history club and adults' learning basic computer skills, which I

found advertised in Over55s-Social local brochures. Eventually, I realised that it was going to be too difficult to establish a connection between the two age groups, because I had to become acquainted with both groups. As I discuss later, it was only after finishing this cycle that I learnt a lesson regarding my relationship with the community: as it turned out, having an existing connection would have been even more helpful. So, after realising that the amount of work required to run all three groups at once was a disproportionally challenging task, I settled on working with the school group only. The main reason to choose this particular research site was that there was already an existing group that incorporated activities for older adults and young people; they were running a lunch club that I had attended to invite people to my study.

After having discussed access requirements with the different gatekeepers (school headmasters, community centre managers, parents/guardians), I continued negotiations where needed, such as around booking sessions and arranging transport for participants, to name a few spaces where permission and discussion were required. However, the most important consent for participation was taken from the participants themselves. Participants were provided with an information sheet that explained the research; a sample of these letters can be found in Appendix A, and a sample of the consent forms that participants signed can be found in Appendix B. The participants and gatekeepers agreed to carry out the sessions on the school premises because it was suitable for participants' access requirements. However, the paperwork required to effectively use the BSS premises for extracurricular activities proved to be slightly more complex than I initially thought.

The school

Bristol-Secondary-School is a secondary school with students as young as 11 and aged up to 16. It was converted into an academy in 2012, and, in their 2013 Ofsted inspection, the school was rated as ‘requires improvement’. The next inspection took place in May 2015, a year ahead of Cycle 1 which was conducted from August 2016- February 2017; from this evaluation, I gathered information about the school, where it was described to be

> smaller than the average-sized secondary school… [M]ixed gendered. The numbers of students on roll in Years 8, 9 and 10 is small compared to the capacity of the school. A new Free School opened four years ago and this has created additional school places in the local area. There has been significant change in staffing over the last two years. Approximately one quarter of the teachers have changed since the last inspection. The majority of students are White British. The proportion of students known to be eligible for the pupil premium is over twice the national average. The pupil premium is additional funding for students who are eligible for free school meals or who are in local authority care. The proportion of disabled students and those with special educational needs is

> above the national average. The school has a specialist resource provision for 35 students with moderate learning difficulties, including Down's syndrome, hearing impairment and Autistic Spectrum Disorders (ASD). A small number of Key Stage 4 students attend alternative education off-site. The school meets the government's current floor standards, which set the minimum expectations for students' attainment and progress. (BSS website, 2017).

There was a lunch club (Making-Friends) happening in the school where, once each month, students from year 11 would cater lunch for older adults. During their April session (2016), I was introduced to the teachers who were facilitating the club; they were eager to help me and happy to include me in the lunch club. This initiative was run in collaboration between the school and Oskar, an external Community Events Organiser who partnered with Over-55s-Social. He was a key contact that negotiated my entry into the school. However, as I had introduced myself as a PhD student from the University of Bristol, amongst the older adults there was the impression that I worked in partnership with Over-55s-Social; I was viewed as an external observer. At the time, I was still finalising the plan for my intervention, so I decided to attend Making-Friends monthly sessions to get acquainted with participants and organisers and start building trust ahead of formally inviting people to my study.

The lunch club activities consisted mainly in having the students serve lunch; they offered an assortment of sandwiches, sausage rolls, and cake accompanied by tea or coffee. The adults sat at the tables and there were one or two students per table who sometimes helped with questions from the trivia quiz. The questions were asked by the teachers in charge. I tried to blend in by joining their activities and engaging in conversation with people. This experience gave some insight into the club's dynamics. I sat at different tables, noticing that the older adults had their own group of friends; their interactions with students were limited to the transactions around food catering or to quiz questions and buying tickets for a raffle at the end of each lunch. At this stage, I mainly interacted with the older adult group.

I had been visiting once a month from April to June 2016 before the summer break. Rose, the assistant headmaster, and Oskar were helpful and happy to support my research. The school was providing a van that Oskar could drive so he could pick up the older adults from their houses and bring them to school. Oskar volunteered to help me with transportation for the older adults and young people in the commute from the school to their homes.

I had planned to start in September, but I experienced a number of institutional challenges from there on. Suddenly, a seemingly endless list of access requirements appeared. I had the impression that the fulfilment of these was only becoming more difficult as time went on. This was an important setback. It was the end of August 2016 when I decided to attend the

September lunch club meeting as usual to formally invite students to be part of my research. At the meeting, I arranged to speak to Rose, the assistant head of the school. She requested that I get the DBS check, which, a month later, I discovered needed renewing. After that, I was asked to I obtained parental permission along with my plan of activities, both of which I had submitted but had not been received. As requirements continually emerged, it did not seem that I could have a clear picture of all of what was required, but I could only unlock one at a time. This was very distressing because I was running behind with my schedule, and, as a PhD student, I had deadlines to meet; further, I had to consider the school calendar so I could have enough time with students. However, I persevered at every step, seeking explanations as to why I could no longer run my study in that school and working to comply with paperwork requests, procedures, and other needs. Eventually, I was granted permission from the school to start my research.

Selection of participants

After I decided to run Cycle 1 with the Bristol Secondary School, I conducted purposive sampling techniques to select participants (Mertens, 2003; Cohen et al., 2017), assuming that participants' interest in intergenerational activities had been indicated by their presence in the lunch club. I invited people from Making-Friends, the existing lunch club at the school, and from the group that volunteered, I recruited nine participants, including five adults and four younger people. I intended to form three pairs and a group of three. I accepted all people that volunteered to account for the possibility of dropouts. In the case of the older adults, I included people that identified themselves as such, or those who were 60+ years old at the time. The young people were all year 11 students, aged 15, who were taking part in the lunch club.

Planning and running the Bristol Secondary School Cycle Intervention

The intervention for this cycle was comprised of five storytelling sessions in which I coordinated participants in order to share and create digital versions of their stories. They were intended to be uploaded to the Map Your Bristol tool. As explained in section 4.3, AR designs comprise a number of cycles that feed into each other.

The purpose of the first session was to introduce participants. Sessions 2-4 were spent exchanging experiences and talking about participants' Bristol stories. By the end of these sessions, participants were meant to select the stories they wanted to digitise and in session 5, participants would have begun creating a digital version of the selected stories and

uploading their material. However, this fifth session did not take place at all due to unforeseen circumstances.

Instead, I checked participants' availability and I conducted individual interviews with four of the older adults and a joint interview with two of the young people. During sessions, participants were asked to write a journal with brief descriptions of the activities along with critical reflections on their experience of the activities. In each session, after they filled in their journals, I conducted a focus group to investigate their experiences and reflections on different topics in relation to proposed and emerging themes and based on the journals that they produced. The methods of data collection will be further explained in the next section.

Methods of data collection

For this study, I designed an intervention based on Somekh's (2009) idea of innovation. This version of innovation consists of a responsive model that develops throughout the different AR cycles of the study. In my study, the intervention involved storytelling workshops as the central source of data collection. In the table below (Table 3), the activities of the intervention were fleshed out and distributed to participants in the school cycle.

Day	When	What	How long	In detail
1	07/11/16	**Welcome and introductions**	**Total (90min)**	**Tea party to welcome participants to the study. Getting to know each other and start activities of the research project.**
		Researcher Introduction	10	Introduce myself and my research (personal and academic drives) what is expected of the study and what people can get out of it.
		Questionnaire	20	Brief exploration of individual participants' perceptions on other age group, the city and technology.
		Ice breaking and map exploration	30	Introductory activity for people to get to know each other and have their first approach to the Map your Bristol tool.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
2	14/11/16	**Sharing stories**	**90**	**Participants share their stories and find material on Map your Bristol of their favourite place.**
		Favourite place stories	40	Participants share stories about their favourite places.
		Explore Map your Bristol	20	Participants find material of their favourite places in Map your Bristol.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
3	21/11/16	**Young and old in Bristol**	**90**	**Participants speak among themselves about their favourite places in terms of 'old' and 'young'.**

		Favourite place stories (young +old)	30	Participants discuss their stories in terms of 'old' and 'young'.
		Explore Map your Bristol (young +old)	30	Participants discuss the content of the Map your Bristol tool in terms of 'old' and 'young'.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
4	05/12/16	**Digital stories**	**90**	**Participants create their own stories.**
		New stories	60	Participants prepare the stories that will be uploaded to Map your Bristol.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
5	12/12/16	**Conclusion and celebration**	**90**	**Finalising and uploading content to Map your Bristol. Party celebrating the culmination of activities.**
		Finalising content	30	Participants will finalise and upload their stories to Map your Bristol.
		Reflections	10	Reflecting on the activities of the day.
		Focus group	20	Sharing our reflections.
		Refreshment and thanks	30	Tea and refreshments provided. Wrap up party to say thanks and celebrate. Prize draw.

Table 3. Detailed plan of the activities with dates.

Across the cycle, during the workshops and in additional meetings, I used qualitative methods to collect data. The data that was collected for this cycle can be observed in Table 4.

Data collected	When the data was collected	Quantity	Content- Media
Fieldnotes	Fieldnotes were made during and after each session of the intervention	4	Researcher observations and reflections per session- Handwritten and electronic log
Questionnaires	Questionnaires applied at the beginning of the intervention, one per participant	9	Background information for each participant: age, use of technology, and perceptions of age - Original forms filled in, and electronic transcription.
Sessions recorded in audio	Audio was recorded live for the individual sessions	4	Original 20 min-80 min length recordings - Electronic reports of the sessions
Photographs	Pictures were taken illustrating activities during sessions 2,3 and 4	14	Photographs of the sessions' activities – Digital photographs

Focus group	Focus group at the end of each session were recorded	4	Focus group discussions - Original 10-15 min audio recording, and digital transcription.
Journal	Participants allowed me to take pictures of their journal at the end of the interventions	2	Participants' journal entries – Digital photographs and electronic transcriptions
Interview	Final interviews were conducted after the sessions	5	Participants feedback and reflections on the project, and extra background information: 30-60 min original audio recordings, and electronic transcription

Table 4. BSS cycle data collection

In the sections below, I discuss the rationale for selecting each of the data collection methods, and I reflect on the methodological implications of these decisions.

Questionnaire

Even though questionnaires are a primarily quantitative method of data collection (Mertens, 1998; Punch and Oancea, 2014), I decided to utilise a questionnaire to obtain data that would have otherwise required an interview. Therefore, this questionnaire was designed and conducted as an exploratory exercise aimed at gathering information to build a profile based on each participant's views of technology and communication, age, intergenerational practice, place, and belonging. More specifically, I intended to gather participants' expectations of the study, their views on the other age-groups, their own perceptions of belonging to their respective age-group, and general information regarding their experiences in Bristol. With this intention, participants were provided with the questionnaire at the beginning of the first session. In relation to AR, this method has been chosen as a substitute of interview to help me to explore with participants their background and existing understandings of age, technology, and place. These questionnaires were used in combination with the other methods during the analysis in order to enquire into the process of change. A sample of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix F.

The questionnaire was not originally planned for, but it was a last-minute solution after I found out that I was not going to obtain initial interviews due to time constrains. I tried to include all the possible answers to the questions within the survey in a 'friendly' and accessible way, both for the older and younger adults. As it turned out, the adults requested an interview instead, and I ended up reading aloud the questions to some of the adults and transcribing their responses. The advantage of this was that I made sure I had given everyone the exact same set of questions. The young adults treated it like a school test.

Although there have been examples of successfully conducting questionnaires within a participatory framework (Kesby and Gwanzura-Ottemoller, 2007; Stuttaford and Coe, 2007), in literature it is also common to find argument that questionnaires are difficult to use when trying to unpack an answer for motivations and other information. I got mixed results from collecting data in this way. On the one hand, as Punch (2014) has pointed out, I was able to get information from young people who were more familiar with exam-type kind of questions, and they were not required to talk. On the other hand, the older adults were not happy with having to write and I ended up doing a survey interview (Singleton and Straits, 2001, p. 59) using the questionnaire as a prompt/script. The implications of this task were not apparent at the time, but I realised later that since this was the initial activity for the research project, it set the expectations in a certain way, and I will come back to this reflection in the discussion chapter (Chapter 7). Overall, although I did use the questionnaire data for my analysis, I considered this tool to be less flexible and not as rich in comparison with potential interview data; for the following cycle at BECR, I only conducted interviews.

Journals

Intimate diaries have been widely used in history research; they are valued because they convey people's intimate feelings, moods, and thoughts. However, for that same reason, it is not an easy task to gain access to these materials, especially because these accounts are produced privately. One way of achieving access is by prompting participants to create a specific log for the research and explain to them what will happen with it (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Therefore, participants were asked to keep a record of their experiences in the study. There was time allocated during the sessions for them to record their thoughts on the given prompts for discussion. Although the records were mainly for self-reflection, participants knew from the start that they could (but did not have to) share some of the entries with the other participants. The intention of this was to encourage reflection from participants that would later feed into our critical discussions.

These journals were purposive and instrumental in supporting the critical reflection and articulation of thoughts for the focus groups. In biographical and oral history research, the relevance of personal logs has been useful to gain insight into people's experiences as they record them (Riessman, 2008; Roberts, 2002). Similarly, I sought to facilitate the expressions of their thoughts and the conscious rationalisation that leads to critical reflection. For this reason, I provided each participant with a notebook. I also had available lined and blank paper so that they could write or draw. These materials were for them to keep in order that they could have a physical memento of the study.

The journals allowed participants to record responses to questions about what they did during the sessions, how they felt about it, and what they thought about the prompts given. I elaborated prompts to guide me during the discussions and these were modified during the sessions based on the emerging themes.

Initially, I had asked participants to keep a journal with prompts that I suggested during each session. However, during this cycle, only one older adult kept his notes for all sessions and after-thoughts. One younger participant made notes for some of the exercises during the sessions. The remaining younger participants and older adults briefly used the notebooks during the sessions but mostly felt uncomfortable writing. Regardless of the seemingly scarce amount of data gathered with this method, I found it was useful as triangulation, as will be explained at the end of this chapter.

Reflective focus groups

As a reflective exercise, focus groups were used in combination with the journals to inform the reflection stages from the school cycle in sessions 1 to 4. The main purpose of the focus groups was to enable spaces for critical dialogue that encouraged critical reflection; participants engaged in critical discussions based on their time spent together and their reflections on topics like 'age', 'intergenerational space', 'story', 'digital mapping of the stories', etc. in relation to the themes previously identified. I conducted reflective focus groups which are a powerful resource that allows the development of discussion around the specific topics (Balch and Mertens, 1999; Kvale & Svend, 2009).

In addition, based on my critical stance, I perceived that reflective focus groups enabled a more democratic approach to researching, which resonates with my philosophical grounding and the participatory ethos to which I subscribe. The focus groups offered an open space for critical dialogue that encouraged participants' involvement in discussion (Macnaghten and

Myers, 2004) while still holding a place for me as the researcher to steer the discussion in relation to the topics of interest for the study (Fontana and Frey, 1994). In this case, I needed to consider and critically reflect on the implications of my role as a facilitator of these dialogues and further discuss the power dynamics which underpinned our encounters. For example, I paid more attention to the form of questions I was asking and I tried to not give leading questions. I worked to be more open to participants' genuine interactions and encourage that. I tried to integrate participants in the dialogue in as much as possible, being aware that they may have had some expectations or assumptions about of me, being that I am a woman, a Mexican, a student, a researcher, young, old, a foreigner, or a stranger, according to their varied perceptions.

This method was selected with the intention to observe if and how participants' perception of each other and their intergenerational relationship changed overtime. However, it also helped me gather information for the analysis and to make sure that the design was appealing to participants of the study. As observed by Bogdan and Biklen (2003), focus groups can be intimidating for participants if they are not comfortable enough to share their thoughts. This particular concern was important given the critical grounding that I am drawing on. For this reason, in every session, I gave participants time to express their thoughts and critical reflections through a journal, as previously explained. Using these materials as a prompt for discussion, I organised the reflective focus groups to gather the reflections for the day's discussions. In addition, I included a space to gather feedback from the participants and allowing me to critically reflect upon what had been done to determine the course of action for the sessions that followed. By doing so, I anticipated that participants would gradually get used to talking to each other and sharing their ideas more comfortably, as I had learnt from the pilot experience.

There were several challenges that were faced from introducing focus groups into the mix of methods used to collect data. I experienced technical difficulties in recording multiple discussions within a larger group of people; I needed two audio recorders, or, at some point, even three. One of the problems I encountered was trying to place the recorders strategically to pick up sound coming from one side of the table in one recorder for one discussion group and the other at the opposite end for another group. When listening back to the recordings, the challenge was to understand who said what, particularly when participants spoke one over the other.

With this information, I was able to prepare a semi-structured outline that allowed me to conduct the subsequent reflective focus groups. In order to facilitate the analysis process, I

audio-recorded these discussions. The use of reflective focus groups in combination with the field notes provided further insight into the participants' perceptions of the creation of intergenerational spaces and practice. In addition to that, the focus groups enabled opportunities for critical dialogue and reflection.

Field notes

Because I was facilitating and moderating the discussions, I could not record extensive observations; further, some have noted that observations themselves are not sufficient in providing a window to people's actions and behaviour in the context of interest (Tudge and Hogan, 2005). I made notes after the sessions had ended with the purpose of having some attention on the actual encounter, as suggested by Creswell (2009). Consequently, I used the findings of the pilot and my theoretical framework to develop an observation framework as suggested by Cohen et al. (2017). This task helped me focus attention on the aspects of the activities that would be useful for the analysis. I observed elements such as participants' apparent attitudes during the activities, which may have signalled their level of involvement in the activities and with the other participants. Cohen et al. further suggested that observations should be complemented with a more tangible form of data. Thus, in addition to my observations, the sessions were audio-recorded to have a supplementary resource of the accounts.

I decided to make notes during the sessions according to my theoretical focus using the structure pictured in Table 5 below; I also completed more in-depth fieldnotes following the sessions. I tried to find aspects of the sessions that fitted with my theory of CoP, community building, storytelling, and so on. At some point, I started to also record aspects or events that were more spontaneous or caught my attention. Since I needed to focus on taking part in the interaction during the session, I had to rely on my memory to write up my annotations and observations. In reflecting on my notetaking, I can see where notes could have been more useful; if I had used a notebook, for example, and not separate or scattered pieces of paper, the notes might have been clearer.

The field notes are a blueprint of my perception as researcher of the events. Field notes derived from researcher observations have received some criticism for over-focus on the researcher's perspective (Mertens, 1998). I therefore used them in combination with the other methods of data collection in which participants' voices can be heard, namely the interviews, reflective focus groups, journals, and digital stories. The main purpose of the field notes was to provide an account of my views as activities unfold, enabling greater researcher flexibility

and better triangulate with the other methods, as well as to inform the decisions about topics of discussion based on the evolution of the study. I thus observed and made notes about participants' involvement with one another and the activities. In Table 5 below, the observation framework I initially used to structure my field notes.

Date/time	**What happened?**	**What do I think?**
	(Factual information) * Body language * Attitudes * Verbal language	(Comments)

Table 5. Observation framework

From session 2, I added a fourth and fifth column to specify any connection with my theoretical framework and add further cues for me to revisit later. An example of this process is pictured in Table 6.

Date/time	**What happened?**	**What do I think?**	**Key concept / RQ**	**For further reflection…**
13/09/2017 17:45	Dan checked to see if I had managed to get inside or if I needed help.	Dan is interested in helping. He seems invested.	1. Participation	Triangulate with interview data. His eagerness to be involved in activities. He values engaging with the university and younger people.
13/09/2017 17:50	Mar was helping me to set up the room and bringing chairs with arms.	She is concerned with keeping a welcoming environment	1? 3. Participation Communication	Accessibility. Elements to consider when designing a positive experience

Table 6. Field notes sample

From these observational framework fieldnotes, I created much more detailed reports containing factual information so I could elaborate on my reflections at a later time. I tried to take simple notes during the workshops, recording the time and adding a brief event

description. I filled in complementary information as soon as possible; this activity sometimes occurred when I arrived back at the doctoral office or during the day after the session. Reflections, however, were revisited as I went back and interrogated my work with the literature.

Methodological reflections: Negotiating with participants and other learning from this cycle

The main reflections from my learning experience after conducting the school cycle (Cycle 1) will be addressed in the findings and discussion chapters (Chapters 5-7). In this section, I will concentrate on the methodological learnings amassed from running the intervention at the Bristol Secondary School.

After the pilot at BECR, I went to find communities of older adults and communities of young people because I thought it would be interesting to compare different settings. I underestimated the effort that it takes to run an intervention, which required setting up, planning, building rapport, and collecting and analysing data, for each individual research site. It is a challenging task for one site, let alone for three of them.

Part of this lack of judgement originated from old indoctrination re-emerging and affecting my decisions. I could notice its effects regarding my role in the study. I felt that I could somehow detach myself from the research and maybe obtain a more 'objective' outcome if I was 'neutral' and did not know the participants beforehand. At this point, I noticed that I was still heavily influenced by the positivist paradigm of research from my earlier training as an engineer, even though deep inside, I knew I could never be completely 'objective'. With this realisation I decided to give a second chance to working in a setting that I was familiar with and with participants that I already knew for the following cycle.

In terms of the research methods, I observed that, apart from the questionnaire, all of the methods utilised fulfilled my expectations and helped me gather the information I needed and weave an enjoyable experience for participants. The most important learning point was in relation to participation. In order for participants to engage meaningfully in the activities, there needed to be interest and involvement. This aspect was not always straightforward and required negotiation. Put simply, I needed to be able to listen and respond accordingly to participants' voices. Regarding the activities of the study, negotiation happened at a different level. When I put forward some of the ideas that I was trying to organise as part of the study, some participants asked questions about what and how to do the things. Eventually they did what they understood, which was not necessarily contrary to what I had told them but in some instances their activities turned out to be unrelated to my initial task goals. I suppose that I also did not give any particular set of restrictions. At the beginning of this cycle, I saw the

potential to incorporate non-digital technologies, which I proposed as able to facilitate the reflection process. We also tried telling our stories and having people drawing them; younger participants were happily drawing away the stories that other participants were sharing with them. These episodes of exploration and negotiations inspired me to rethink my approach and to keep integrating non-digital and 'new' (different) digital technologies in addition to Map Your Bristol.

One of the main examples of negotiation was in arranging the times and dates for sessions. In face-to-face conversations, I arbitrarily suggested a random date from my calendar and then waited for participants to confirm their availability. The community events organiser helped also by suggesting a time and day convenient for him to drive participants. I was rather flexible because my main interest was to conduct the study, so I managed my calendar around it. Therefore, for the following cycle (Cycle 2) I made a note to keep in mind that this was an important aspect that needed more consideration.

Another example of negotiation occurred around the food. I considered food to be a critical element to create a positive experience for participants; according to my upbringing, food was at the centre of all things and functions as a reason to live. I asked about allergies and, for the school cycle, I set out to prepare the food myself. However, participants seemed to be puzzled with the result, because they were not familiar with the flavours that I offered them. Eventually, I decided it was better to offer ready-made food instead.

After having run the school cycle with an intergenerational group that had previous experiences of intergenerational interactions, I realised that an important factor for the success of this research project, given the participatory approach, was trust (Kaplan, 2002; Somekh, 2006). In addition, the participation of younger people (aged 15) was problematic given the structural constrains of institutionalised learning and socialising. It could have been possible, but the amount of resources available (time and money) through this doctoral research were insufficient. These are some of the reasons why I contacted the Bristol Extra Care Residence as a possible research site; I discuss this site and Cycle 2 in the section that follows. In the findings chapters (Chapters 5&6) I address in more depth the methodological challenges and opportunities of my study.

4.5.3 BECR Cycle

In the section that follows, I discuss the stages of Cycle 2: Bristol Extra Care Residence. The shaded area in Table 7 shows the correspondence of activities in BECR cycle in relation to the stages of AR and a timeline.

Time	Cycle	Stage	Activities
Sep-14		Explore	Literature review
Jan-16		Plan	Design intervention
Dec-16		Action	Run intervention
Mar-16	Exploratory pilot	Reflection	Modify intervention
Apr-16		Explore	Access research site
Jul-16		Plan	Modify intervention
Nov-16		Action	Run intervention
	Cycle 1: Bristol Secondary School	Reflection	Researcher's journal
May-15		Explore	Access research site
Mar-17		Plan	Modify intervention
Sep-17		Action	Run intervention
	Cycle 2: Bristol Extra Care Residence	Reflection	Researcher's journal

Table 7. Timeline of research cycles, AR stages, and activities (BECR cycle).

Exploring: Accessing research site

After running the school cycle (Cycle 1), I decided that the research group should consist of people that had an established relationship with me. I consulted with the residents of BECR to ascertain if they were interested in taking part of my research. I found several people who agreed to be involved; they were happy to help me and I thought these people could benefit from these encounters.

Selection of participants

With a combination of purposive and convenience sampling techniques (Braun and Clarke, 2014; Punch and Oancea, 2014), I chose a new cohort of participants. When I decided to approach my existing networks, I invited older adult friends whom I met through IT volunteering at BECR and young friends with an interest in research. This time, the age for the younger counterpart was raised to a range of 20-30 years old. I made this decision based on the difficulties of recruiting underage participants and the availability of my young friends. In the week before the first session, I had two dropouts from the younger volunteers, so I had to conduct a snowballing technique as an emergency to recruit more young people. In the end, I recruited one older woman, three younger women and two older men.

Adapting (plan) and running the intervention: including new technologies and interviews

After the experience with designing and running the intervention at the Bristol Secondary School, I committed myself to pay closer attention to participants' interests and boundaries. With this in mind, I investigated existing digital technologies I could use I in addition to Map Your Bristol. Below, I present the different technologies that I brought for participants to explore in this cycle.

Tangible Memories

As it was mentioned in the literature review chapter (Chapter 2), Tangible Memories is an app for portable digital iPad devices. I used this tool because I thought it could be interesting for people to explore the notion of having a material outcome of their participation. Also, two of the participants were already familiar with the tool, which made me confident that this resource could be accessible for people, regardless of their ages. These two research participants had previously created books when they were involved with Tangible Memories project. Two Tangible Memories digital books resulted from my research, one created by an intergenerational pair, one I created documenting our workshops. The latter was a memento I wanted to share with my participants, so, at the end of this cycle, I created a Tangible Memories book that narrates the cycle at BECR.

Bristol stories

Bristol Stories is a website that resulted of a small project. Digital stories were collected from people with the intention to recognise that 'everybody has a story to tell, and these personal stories have an intrinsic value as a trigger for memory, and are a way of gaining deeper insight into Bristol's history' (Bristol Stories, 2017). All the stories featured in Bristol Stories have been 'devised and made by local people using computers, photographs, and personal archives such as home movies, family documents, or objects with a special meaning or significance' (Bazley & Graham, 2012, p. 111). From its origins in March 2005 until June 2007, the project was run as a partnership between Watershed and Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives Service; it aimed to involve the public in the development of content for the new Museum of Bristol. I intended to include this technology in my intervention because the content was made by amateurs rather than curators or academics. I thought it would demonstrate how the experiences of the people of Bristol have contributed to the rich cultural tapestry of the city. This site was used for inspiration and to see how other people digitised their own stories.

Word processor

Word processors are computer programs for input, editing, formatting and output of text. True to my renewed commitment of incorporating participant's voices as much as possible, this technology was selected by one of the older adults in BECR. His story will be explored in more detail in the corresponding findings chapter.

Blog

Similar to commonly-used word processors, blogs are an online option to share texts in the shape of discussions or information outlets. A blog usually consists of multiple discrete and often informal diary-style text entries. This option was selected by one of the younger participants in this cycle as she was already familiar and comfortable with using the medium.

Methods of data collection

Aside from the questionnaire, I kept the existing data collection methods from Cycle 1 for this new cycle. The main change resulting from the previous cycle was that I arranged for initial interviews to take place well in advance of starting the storytelling sessions. As mentioned earlier, I designed an intervention based on Somekh's (2009) idea of innovation. The innovation consisted of a responsive model that developed throughout the different AR cycles of the study. The central source of data collection of this intervention consisted of five storytelling workshops. In the table below, the activities of the intervention were explained and distributed to participants in the BECR cycle. With the experience that I gained from running similar workshops in the school setting in Cycle 1, I redesigned some of the activities to better suit the purposes of my research. In addition, I was able to include a few changes that were aimed at improving the experience for participants, as well as making it more appealing and easier to attend. Some of the problems that I had encountered during the cycle at the school were due to the entrenched habits of intergenerational relationships, namely the internalised roles of both adults and young people, as well as the difficulties faced within the structural constraints from institutional rules and restrictions. Therefore, I designed the following intervention for Cycle 2 (see Table 8), based on the previous cycle at the school.

Day	When	What	How long	In detail
1	05/09/17	**Welcome Tea party**	**Total (90min)**	**Tea party to welcome participants to the study. Getting to know each other and start activities of the research project.**
		Researcher Introduction	5	Welcome and briefly talk about what is expected of the study and what people will get out of it.
		Icebreaker	20	Talk about our favourite childhood game.
		Story telling exploration	40	Introductory activity for people to get to know each other, in pairs and have their first approach to storytelling using the photograph/object that participants have chosen.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day using the journal.
		Focus groups	10	Sharing our reflections.
2	13/09/17	**Sharing and mapping stories**	**90**	**Participants share their stories and find material on the map of their favourite place. (Physical map and digital map [Map your Bristol]).**
		Favourite place stories	30	Participants share stories about their favourite places and locate them in the map.
		Explore Map your Bristol	30	Participants find material of their favourite places using the online resource http://www.mapyourbristol.org.uk.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day using the journal.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
3	20/09/17	**Digital storytelling**	**90**	**Participants explore ways of doing storytelling using digital media.**
		Digital storytelling explore and discuss	30	Participants look up stories using this online resource: http://www.bristolstories.org/. Participants discuss their stories in terms of generations (e. g. age representation).

		Tangible emories explore and discuss	30	Participants explore the Tangible Memories app and discuss social opportunities.
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day using the journal.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
4	27/09/17	**Our stories**	**90**	**Participants create their own stories.**
		Storytelling guidelines	25	Work around our stories. Participants discuss what a good story is. They discuss what materials they want to use to share our stories (photos/objects) and the media digital/non-digital.
		New stories	35	Participants prepare the stories that will become the end-product. (Digital or physical).
		Reflections	15	Reflecting on the activities of the day using the journal.
		Focus groups	15	Sharing our reflections.
5	03/10/17	**Celebratory Tea party**	**90**	**Finalising the stories. Tea party celebrating the culmination of activities.**
		Finalising content	30	Participants will finalise their stories.
		Reflections	10	Reflecting on the activities of the day using the journal.
		Focus group	20	Sharing our reflections.
		Refreshment and thanks speech	30	Tea and refreshments provided. Wrap up party to say thanks and celebrate. Prize draw.

Table 8. Detailed plan of the activities for the intervention

Across the cycle during the workshops and in additional meetings, I used a number of qualitative methods to collect data. The data that was collected for this cycle can be observed in the following table (Table 9).

Data collected	When the data was collected	Quantity	Content- Media
Fieldnotes	Fieldnotes were made during and after each session of the intervention	10	Researcher observations and reflections per session- Handwritten and electronic log
Sessions recorded in audio	Audio was recorded live for the individual sessions	5	Original 90 min. length recordings - Electronic reports of the sessions
Photographs	Pictures were taken illustrating activities during all sessions	80	Photographs of the sessions' activities – Digital photographs
Focus group	Focus group at the end of each session were recorded	5	Focus group discussions - Original 10-15 min audio recording, and electronic transcription.
Interview	Individual interviews were conducted before	12	Participants initial interviews: background information. +

	and at the end of the intervention		Participants follow-up interviews: feedback and reflections on the project. - 30-120 min original audio recordings, and electronic transcription
Journal	Participants allowed me to take pictures of their journal at the end of the interventions	4	Participants' journal entries – Digital photographs and electronic transcription
Digital stories	Final interviews were conducted after the sessions	4	Participants digital stories (Tangible Memories book, blog entry, Word doc, Map Your Bristol entry)

Table 9. BECR cycle data collection

In the sections that follow, I discuss below the rationale for selecting the data collection methods that were added for this cycle and reflect on the methodological implications of these decisions.

Critical Semi-structured interview

From the cycle at the school participants, I learnt that the format of the questionnaire was not providing the information I needed for the study and that older participants found it intimidating. Therefore, I made sure to instead arrange interviews with all participants, since the purpose of conducting an interview is to obtain people's in-depth opinion of specific topics by talking to them directly (Kvale, 1996). The initial interview was conducted as an exploratory exercise aimed at gathering information to build a profile based on each participant's views on technology, communication, age, intergenerational practice, and place and belonging. With this intention, at the beginning of the study, participants were interviewed; there, I specifically intended to gather participants' expectations of the study, their views on the other age-groups, their own perception as belonging to their respective age-group, and general information regarding their experiences in Bristol. In relation to AR, this method helped me to explore the initial situation with participants. I used this first encounter with participants to engage in critical dialogue in order to elicit information on their perceptions on their own age-group as well as the other age-groups. Initial interviews also helped me to investigate how I could create a welcoming environment for my study; I consulted with people to understand what spaces were accessible for them, what times would suit them best, and what I could offer them to feel comfortable during the sessions (e. g., adequate furnishing for the venue, refreshments, etc.). The initial interviews, along with follow up interviews at the end, were used in combination with

the other methods during the analysis in order to enquire into the process of change. I used semi-structured interviews because I intended to have a better understanding of people's responses and have the flexibility to probe into their accounts as well as enable the space in conversation to clarify what people have said (Gray, 2009). These interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed to facilitate the analysis.

Digital story (BECR cycle)

The main purpose of this method of data collection was to explore participants' understandings of 'belonging' in the process of creating digital narratives of place; the methods also allowed observation of the negotiation of this process. In addition, I looked at how participants represent themselves as individuals and as part of an intergenerational community. From this data, the expected outcome was a story (Bornat, 2001; Riessman, 2008); previous studies (oral history, biographic narrative, etc.) have focused on the production of a final story, including stories in varied formats such as books, videos, and photographs.

There has been criticism around long accounts that have little impact and less diffusion. With this research I intended to produce content that is accessible for a wider audience that could also benefit from engaging with the stories produced. This intention is relevant because, by sharing their materials online, participants will have taken a step towards a more meaningful representation of themselves. For this study, these stories are in the form of the digital materials that people created as a result of their encounters. Since the Map Your Bristol, Tangible Memories and Bristol Stories platforms allow all kinds of media (such as text, audio, video, photographs, etc.), I encouraged participants to concentrate on the content of their stories and offered them support wherever needed to create the digital object.

The combination of these methods allowed the space for critical dialogue (Freire, 1996) with participants throughout the course of the study and subsequently fostered reflexivity. Overall, the data collection methods integrated seamlessly, creating a meaningful experience of bonding across generations. In addition, the diverse data sources provided a rich tapestry for the process of analysis, which is addressed in the following section.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, in the field of intergenerational studies, there has been little clarity in the analytical frameworks and procedures applied to conduct analysis. This lack of step-by-step description of methods for analysis is also common for qualitative research in general (Gee, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saldana, 2009). However, in my own practice, I endeavoured

to consistently apply techniques for my data analysis. Given the AR approach that I have adopted, data analysis was conducted during and after interventions. Analysis of data from the school cycle (Cycle 1) started during data collection and provided feedback for the following stages of the AR design. Data from this cycle were later triangulated with the data collected in the BECR cycle to obtain the overall findings.

For the school cycle, I analysed the data manually during the interventions. I started by photocopying questionnaires and fieldnotes, and printing transcripts of audio recordings from the focus groups and interviews. With the information on paper, I highlighted, underlined, and circled sections of the printed material and wrote down the codes. I wrote my analysis of the data as reflection in my research diary and in a Word document. I started transcribing and digitising (scanning, transcribing, and uploading), using Nvivo11 for the school cycle data; I added the Cycle 2 data when the BECR final interviews were completed. I coded all the digital data twice using Nvivo11 and Nvivo12, as the latter was installed during my coding process. Since I found it easier to do it manually, I went back to the pen-and-paper analysis. Therefore, the use of Nvivo was primarily to sort the data and run an initial overall coding. For an example of initial coding, see Figure 5 below.

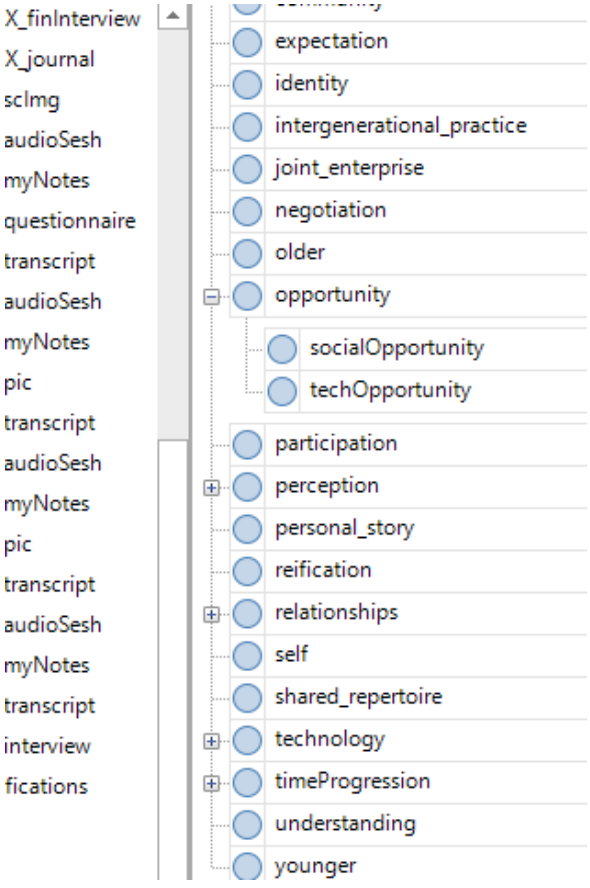


Figure 5. A snippet of the nodes created using Nvivo12

4.6.1 Thematic analysis

I coded the data using thematic analysis, which is a qualitative method to organise, report, and analyse data for meanings produced by people in situations and events (Aronson, 1994; Boyatzis 1998; Patton, 2002; Riessman, 2008). Thematic analysis helped me organise, reduce, and identify emergent data connections (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The first step to the analysis was coding, which, according to Hodkinson (2008, p. 87), is the process of 'assigning conceptual labels to different segments of data in order to identify themes, patterns, processes and relationships'. I had an observational framework that was built from the theory and key concepts that I started to look for in the data. I was also open to finding codes that I had not anticipated but which related to my research questions.

Furthermore, thematic analysis enabled me to recognise patterns. After the patterns had been localised, I defined a coding framework to start with the development of the different themes. Once the themes had been identified, I produced a brief document and revised my reflections in the subsequent sessions informing the intervention. During the pilot, I found overarching themes that I looked for in the sessions that related to my theoretical framework through using concepts of Communities of Practice and critical pedagogies. These initial overarching themes were *participation*, *reification*, *negotiation*, *repertoire*, *enterprise*, and *engagement*, which were then divided further into themes and subthemes, including 'Belonging', 'Attachment', 'Places I like', 'Places where I have lived', 'Places and people', 'Friendship'. I further developed these themes and subthemes as I started collecting data in the school and BECR cycles. This process was challenging because I had to allow for themes to emerge but at the same time draw from my conceptual lens. Open coding (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) was used to create categories based on the observational framework I had proposed, which can be found in Table 10.

Data excerpts	**Coding**	**Identifying themes**
[Fieldnotes from the observations during the last session] Upon arrival people greeted each other and asked about their absence in previous sessions and talk about what they have missed.	Young and older people acknowledge the importance of participation of both parties in the activities.	Expectation from other participants Participation Community Joint enterprise
[Focus group transcript] 'I enjoyed the sessions … at the beginning I didn't understand what you meant by old folk and young people relationships, but now, it kind of makes sense	Older people recognise the importance of a shared attribute in community building. Their expectations of coherence between the overall topic of the research	Expectation from the research Community Lived experience Shared repertoire

with our conversations about Bristol'	and the methods used to its pursuit become apparent.	

Table 10. Example of data analysis from the pilot.

Table 11 shows a summary of the relationships between the research questions and the elements of the theoretical framework that were informed by each research question.

RQ	Focus	Process
1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?	Community, narrative, critical pedagogies	Finding a joint enterprise Building onto the shared repertoire Fostering mutual engagement Observing different levels of participation
2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?	Participation/Reification Mediation / Boundary objects / Broker	Observing different levels of participation Interrogating the role of technologies in practices
3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?	Practice, Community, Participation and Reification	Observing the development of intergenerational practice Interrogating the development of the intergenerational groups as a CoP What worked? What did not work?

Table 11. Research questions, and theoretical framework.

For the digital stories that were produced by participants of BECR, I also used thematic analysis under the same framework for content and structure to maintain consistency in the analysis. The narratives provided by participants were read as texts and re-interpreted to find underlying themes and subthemes.

Triangulating

At an early stage when the sessions were running, I started the analysis and used it to inform the design of the intervention, aiming at creating an inclusive process of critical reflection where younger and older participants were sharing their insights. I, therefore, looked for convergence of themes across the content of the narratives in the digital story objects as well as the data collected using interviews, reflective focus groups, and field notes. Themes which were obtained from the codes of a particular data source (e. g. focus groups, fieldnotes) were constantly triangulated with other sources of data (e. g. interviews, questionnaires). This process enriched existing categories and sometimes formed new ones or pointed to new

relations (Urquhart, 2013). This process of triangulation was difficult at the beginning, but as I went on with the analysis, the connections between data points collected through the different methods emerged organically. An initial plan for triangulation of the data collected during the school cycle can be found in Table 12 below.

RQ	Data source	Items to look for
1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?	Initial interview/ Questionnaire	Building a profile based on perceptions of age, intergenerational, place and belonging
	Field notes Journals	Involvement of participants in activities. Interaction or lack of it
	Reflective focus groups Journals	Evolution of perceptions of age, intergenerational, place and belonging
2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?	Initial interview	Building a profile based on perceptions of IT, age, intergenerational, place and belonging
	Field notes	Participants' use of IT.
		Conversations about IT.
		Dynamics in creating the digital story.
	Reflective focus groups Journals	Evolution of perceptions of IT, intergenerational, IT and intergenerational communication
	Digital story	Belonging, voice, participation, representation, communication
3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?	Field notes Journals	Detecting strengths and challenges of the activities (identifying shared repertoire, mutual engagement, joint enterprise)
	Reflective focus groups Journals	Discussing the identified challenges and strengths for development of intergenerational practice

Table 12. School cycle initial plan for data analysis. Research questions and triangulation.

Findings and drawing conclusions

Interpreting the findings and making sense of the data was not always straightforward as the research sites were different from each other and complex in their own way. I systematically

revisited my initial conceptual framework, considering data collected during each of the cycles and trying to find similar patterns and identify cross-cutting themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). At the same time, I worked to keep my conclusions open for revision as they are context dependent.

4.7 Conclusion of the chapter

Despite the substantial amount of work required to make this research project a reality, I was able to enjoy the rewarding experience of conducting this study using an AR approach with a participatory ethos. Having devised an elaborate arrangement of data collection methods, the resulting dataset was rich and the methods applied have potential for encouraging a lasting relationship between generations.

This chapter has outlined and justified the research methodology implemented in this study. Given the nature of the topic of interest, I opted for a qualitative approach underpinned by critical theory. Using an AR design with participatory elements, I developed an intervention that was implemented in an exploratory pilot and refined through two more cycles that ran at a secondary school and an older adults' extra-care residence. I used a range of data collection methods that worked as moving parts to which I went back and forth during analysis integrating them organically using thematic analysis. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will present the findings for the Bristol Secondary School and BECR cycles.

Chapter 5. Findings from the Bristol-Secondary-School cycle

This chapter is the first of two findings chapters, and it is focused on the intervention from the Bristol-Secondary-School (BSS) Cycle. I begin by offering a brief outline of the storytelling workshops. I then introduce a short summary of the participants' information to build an initial picture. This first section of the chapter is deliberately more descriptive. After that, I sketch the initial findings using excerpts of the data to illustrate, reflect on, and discuss the findings. The findings are then presented, arranged into the following three overarching themes that map onto my research questions:

- **Narrative and the community**: Here, I present the run up to getting to know each other from the experience of the school cycle through the exchange of narratives.
- **Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters**: In this section, I explore the intricacies of using different technologies in intergenerational settings and my role as a facilitator/researcher.

- **Challenges and opportunities**: In this section, I write about the difficulties that arose in this context within the intergenerational groups. In addition, I highlight the strengths with the research design that enabled the research project to take place. These are categorised into social, technological and methodological.

In the final section of this chapter, I present a summary of tentative key findings that will feature in the next chapter. These findings are tentative because the BSS cycle was followed by another cycle of action research (AR). The findings will be finalised in the next chapter. I then finish the chapter with reflections and learnings that helped me prepare for the final cycle at Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence (BECR).

5.1 Setting the scene at Bristol-Secondary-School

Having gained access to the research site, as described earlier in the previous chapter (section 4.5.2), I designed an intervention of place-based storytelling workshops with younger and older adults that would take place in the premises of BSS. In this section I provide a description of the storytelling workshops and briefly introduce the participants in this cycle.

5.1.1 The Storytelling Workshops

Here, I briefly recapitulate the structure, aims, and outcomes of the intervention. In-depth reflections and discussion will be presented in forthcoming sections.

As previously discussed in Chapter 4, given the circumstances in which I gained access to Bristol Secondary School (BSS), I was only able to start this cycle in November 2016, and I had to finish before the Christmas break, which meant I was running on a tight schedule. This time pressure led to my decision to adapt the initial interview questions for a questionnaire. I had planned to spend teatime with the intergenerational group for five afternoons. I proposed that these encounters should be storytelling workshops so we could get to know each other. There were five sessions planned, from which only four took place.

On 7 November 2016, I stepped inside BSS to kick-start a journey of inquiry. Much of this first session was spent with participants filling in a questionnaire to gather basic information. For the last 15 minutes of that session, participants discussed and reflected together on their perceptions of different age groups.

The second session took place the 14th of November. I had asked participants to bring a photograph to share a story about a place in Bristol. I requested that participants spend 10 minutes with a partner from a different age-group forming intergenerational pairs or trios. I offered materials, including coloured markers, pens, and paper, and asked them to summarise the relevant details of their partners' stories. After the allotted time, they were meant to share

their partners' stories with the full group. Once participants were gathered, a discussion of our stories ensued.

We had our third session on the 21st of November. Ahead of starting this session David, the school librarian, helped me to set up the computers in the library to use Map your Bristol (see Chapters 2&4). During the session, I asked participants to sit in intergenerational pairs or trios and to explore the content related to the places that they had introduced in the previous session and the areas that surrounded those locations. Next, I requested that participants reassemble together at a big table. The discussion for this session was focussed on the potential of MyB. I finished this session by inviting participants to think about what kind of story they wanted to create at the end of the study: maybe a personal story, or perhaps showcasing how a specific place has changed over time.

The fourth session was held on the 5th of December. Prior to the session, I had asked participants to bring books, photographs, or any item they could to help them 'craft' a digital story. I brought a physical map where participants could pin their drafted stories. Although participants were sitting at one big table, I indicated that they work in smaller intergenerational groups. I suggested sorting the groups by place of interest.

The fifth session did not take place due to unforeseen circumstances. After the cancellation, I arranged a final interview with participants who were available.

At the end of the cycle, in February 2017, I conducted individual interviews with the four older adults; a joint interview with two of the younger adults was held in March. In Figure 6 below, I sketched the layout of the BSS library where the research workshops took place. I reflect upon the sessions – the methodology employed, the challenges with the school, etc. – in the final sections of this chapter.

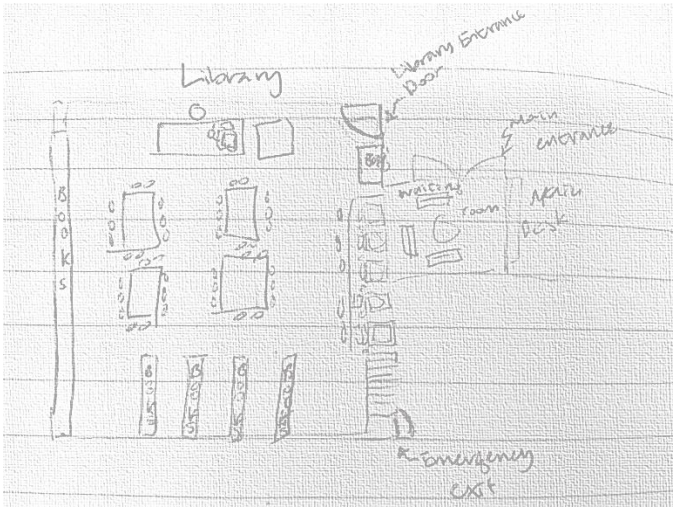


Figure 6. Sketch of the BSS library layout.

5.1.2 Meet the participants

The process for recruiting participants for this cycle took place before the above-stated activities, starting in April 2016 (as described in section 4.5.2 of the Methodology chapter). After contacting the school and gaining access to Making-Friends (the lunch club between year 11 students and older adults run in collaboration with the BSS and Over-55s-Social) I began officially recruiting participants at BSS. On the day I requested details to get in touch with potential participants, one of the students approached me and asked if she could put down her name. I accepted and encouraged her to spread the word among her peers. There were four younger adults and eight older adults who signed up their names with contact details. I later called them to arrange the final details before our first meeting. I had a list of the people in my study and I had seen them before; however, at this point, I could only match a couple of faces with participants' names. Six of the older adults confirmed they had interest and could attend and were present at the beginning of our research sessions. Two of them dropped out during the cycle but granted permission to keep their previous interactions/engagement as part of the data and use it for my reports, leaving the group with four older adults for the remainder of the cycle. As a result of the long negotiations to gain access, there were time constraints, which meant the initial interviews that I had planned could not be arranged. Thus, I devised a questionnaire which could give me some basic information about participants to gain some insight into their interests, age-perceptions, use of technology, and basic biographical information such as name, age, and amount of time they had been living in Bristol.

In the following paragraphs, I give an account of the basic information gathered from that questionnaire from the first day of our research encounters (for a copy of the questionnaire, see Appendix E). I will begin with the older adults, and after introducing them all, I will present the younger adults.

All participants, except John*[2] had lived all their lives in Bristol.

At the time of the research encounter, Prudence was 89 years old. She was a regular at Making-Friends. She was nervous about the computers and did not want to complete the questionnaire. She was happy to talk to the older adults and young people in the group but stated at the end of that first session that she would not come back because what was required was 'beyond' her.

Shirley was 89 years old. She was also a regular at Making-Friends. She was happy to be part of the workshops as long as there was no direct interaction with technology as she felt that she could not use it.

[2] All names have been redacted

Betty was 85 years old. She did not feel at all confident using technology because her family would deal with it for her. Betty was keen on engaging with people from different ages and anyone who was ‘friendly and polite’ towards her.

Mary was 57 years old. She had been attending older adult clubs with Suzanne, her carer who helped Mary with mobility issues. Before signing up, Suzanne approached me and inquired if it was a problem that Mary was under 60 or a wheelchair user. I reassured her that as long as she felt she could talk to the other participants, none of those circumstances represented an impediment to joining us. Mary was using her tablet and mobile phone on a daily basis. However, she slightly disagreed that she was confident with using these technologies, as she usually has assistance from her carers. In the first session, she was accompanied by Suzanne, the full-time carer on duty.

Evelyn was 88 years old. She indicated that she regularly watched television and listened to music but other than that, she did not use technology (digital/computer/web) AT ALL.

John, in his 50s, had lived in Bristol for 40 years. He used technology every day but did not feel confident when using it. He used technology for personal communication and watching videos, and he would access Google, Facebook, and YouTube.

Vera, 15, was my main point of contact with the younger adults. She volunteered to be their representative so that I only had to exchange communications with her. She uses technology every day and feels strongly confident to use it. She uses technology for personal communication, listening to music, watching videos, playing games, and shopping.

Scarlett, who was 15 years old, uses her mobile phone every day. She is strongly confident using it for personal communication, listening to music, watching videos, doing schoolwork, and messaging family and friends.

Pete, 15, uses technology every day but indicated that he ‘slightly agreed’ in feeling confident using it. He uses it for personal communication, watching videos, playing games, listening to music, doing schoolwork, and shopping.

Tonya was 15 years old. He stated that he uses technology every day and strongly agrees that he feels confident when using it. He uses it for personal communication, listening to music, watching videos, and doing schoolwork; he also uses it within his workplace.

In the initial meetings, I only skimmed through most of the questions on the questionnaire because we were running behind schedule. The delay occurred because half the participants arrived after the time that we had agreed. Also, completing the questionnaire took twice as much the time as I had planned. As a result, in planning for future sessions, I tried to be more

flexible with time as I planned activities; I also decided against using a questionnaire again. The data obtained from the questionnaire, even though it is not as rich as what is obtained in an interview, gave me basic background information about participants. In forthcoming sections, data from the questionnaire will be analysed in more depth, but first, there are some aspects from the questionnaire responses that I want to draw attention to, which will also be revisited later in the chapter.

I noticed from the questionnaire the generalised worry around using technologies that was held by older adults. This finding confirmed the evidence of previous research which suggests that older adults are less likely to engage in the use of technology (Hutchby, 2001; Selwyn, 2009; Venkatesh et al., 2003). During the sessions I reassured participants that they were not going to be doing something that they did not want. Since the main purpose of my study was to foster the intergenerational relationships, I was hoping that participants would be happy to try the activities with the technologies, knowing that they could request help from me or the younger participants, or completely opt out of the technology-use part. I was self-conscious and felt guilty that Prudence thought that the use of technology was too difficult. After all, for me the most important part of my study was that there was an opportunity for older adults and young people to connect.

One of the questions invited participants to suggest the pseudonym that would be used in my research. I noticed that 'Tonya', a young man, wrote a feminised version of his real name. This decision reminded me of my experience with classmates in secondary school when I was a teenager. Research surveys were a common occurrence and, at least once every six months, we would take part in them. My classmates would intentionally fill in questionnaires with random or contradicting answers, and they would mess around with the information used to categorise data. For example, they would register their ages zero or 183 years, or tick female instead of male: in short, they were having fun. I wondered if this could be the case with Tonya. I thought I would find out later what pseudonym he actually wanted when we were nearing the end of the session. Seeing as other participants used shorter versions of their real names, in the next session I explained that a pseudonym was useful to protect one's privacy. I told them that the data I was gathering was going to be used in my dissertation, academic presentations, and scholar publications, as stated in the consent forms that they had just signed. But I also reminded them that the goal was to produce an online story, which could be accessed by anyone with an internet connection. They confirmed that they were happy for their initial pseudonyms to be redacted, and I asked them to think about a new one and to share it with me once they had chosen it. I added that if they wanted, I could assign the pseudonyms for them. John had also chosen a short form of his real name. He suggested that if they could not decide by the end of our sessions, then I should assign them, and all of the participants who

were in that situation agreed. During the fourth session, when I reminded them of this issue, they instructed me to proceed with finding the names on their behalf. In the case of Tonya, I have picked a feminised version of a male name to mirror the impression I received from the original name I was given in the questionnaire. I assumed that this is what Tonya wanted, as I was not contacted to indicate otherwise.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will start sketching the initial landscape of my findings as they correspond with my research questions.

5.2 The narrative and the community findings: Building rapport through critical dialogue and place-based storytelling

In this section I present findings in relation to the theme *narrative and the community*.

Building rapport is not an easy or straightforward process. There are some issues to be overcome and discussed related to intergenerational stereotypes and attitudes (Mercken, 2002; Smith, 2009) that need to be critically addressed before the storytelling in order to encourage critical engagement and learning. Below I explore the process undergone as the intergenerational groups got to know one another through sharing and co-creating stories. I look at the progression of relationships from age group segregation to a more reciprocal, intergenerational approach. I then give the account of my attempt at co-creation of digital stories with participants, which did not go as planned.

From this cycle there were four findings which I develop in this section. The first finding indicates the prevalence of existing relationships and ways of relating that influenced the formation of new intergenerational relationships. The second finding shows that, as a result of the different life-experiences and personalities, tensions arise that warrant negotiation should participants wish to pursue a cordial intergenerational relationship. The difficulties of this process are the third finding, especially as related to stereotypes and attitudes about the age-groups which need to be discussed so that the issues can be overcome in order to encourage critical engagement and learning. The fourth finding is that it takes time to develop new intergenerational relationships in different ways, and place-based storytelling is helpful to build rapport among generations. These findings will be further developed below. I start exploration of the findings with the vignette featured in the next pages, which illustrates how our relationships unfolded as we shared stories.

Sharing stories: 'We can also teach you new stuff you don't know!'

In the first session, John and Mary, along with Suzanne, Mary's primary carer, arrived on their own at the arranged time. As soon as Vera and Pete entered the library, I asked them to sit at

the same table (Table A). A few minutes in, Shirley, Evelyn, Prudence, and Betty arrived together on the school bus with Oskar. After a couple of minutes, Scarlett and Tonya came in the room and walked to sit at the table with Pete and Vera, but I requested that Scarlett and Tonya sit on the other table next to Evelyn, Shirley, Betty, and Prudence.

Participants at Table A seemed okay with the task of filling out the questionnaire. Because they arrived on time, they had a head start and had read their consent forms and information sheets. However, the participants at Table B, particularly the older adults, seemed unhappy and surprised with the volume of paper they had just received: the information sheet, consent form, and questionnaire. They did not know what to do with it all. The older adults at Table B said that was a lot of paperwork. Therefore, I proceeded to read the questions and write down answers for Betty and Shirley, who took turns. I assisted Evelyn with a couple of questions after that.

In that first session of the study, alongside the questions of the questionnaire I also handed out a couple of pages with images obtained from online newspapers (see Figure 7)*. These images were used as a prompt for comparison: we discussed what we could see in the media about both age groups of younger and older adults, versus what participants thought personally of these age groups. I prepared these prompts to encourage discussion about age stereotypes versus reality as experienced by participants.*

Figure 7. Images of younger and older adults featured in the questionnaire.

I gave the instruction for participants to engage in discussion in intergenerational pairs/trios, but participants instead were discussing with their tables as a singular group. In response to the discussion question, they indicated that there was a clear intention behind the mainstream media to portray each group of people in a negative light. Betty commented that it was usually 'the bad ones who make the headlines', referring to the widespread images of 'rebellious' young adults. John, for his part, noted that the people depicted in the images were of varied backgrounds with different lifestyles that corresponded with their particular circumstances. Similarly, the younger adults commented that there are the same perceptions with older adults: according to them there are 'nice' or 'nasty' 'elderly' people. While this topic was being discussed, I observed attentively as the following exchange happened at one of the tables:

> *Evelyn: We, elderly, can know a lot of things that you don't!*
>
> *Tonya: So can we.*
>
> *Scarlett: We also can teach you new stuff you don't know!*

Apparently, one of the younger adults said he had met 'entitled and arrogant' older adults who expected 'special treatment' and, in response, Evelyn started to explain why she thought older adults 'deserve respect'. I stood next to them, ready to offer a conciliatory word, but in the end, I simply partook of their discussion in silence, observing as they respectfully exchanged their differing views and experiences and arrived at the conclusion that both older and younger adults have 'something to offer'.

At the beginning of the school cycle sessions, there was a clear division between the older adult group and the younger adult group. I observed that there was a marked tendency for the older and younger adults to gravitate towards their known friends who were within their age group. We learnt that Betty was a close friend to Shirley, for Betty's son was married to Shirley's daughter. During the first session of the study, Tonya offered to help serve juice and give the sandwiches that I had prepared to the older adults, just as they usually did at Making-Friends.

Adhering to my place-based storytelling initiative, at the end of our first meeting, I asked participants to bring for the following session a photograph that was significant for them and indicated something that happened in Bristol. For our second meeting, everyone brought a photograph to share some insight into their favourite place of the city. This activity served as a sort of icebreaker. There were three types of material that were shared on the day: there were materials that gave insights into the history of now iconic buildings and others that presented personal stories. There were also materials that joined the two, showing changes in the city and the impact on the storytellers' lives. For this activity, I gave instructions for

participants to sit in intergenerational pairs at the beginning and I asked them to share the stories that each one brought. I gave them white paper and permanent markers to aid in the telling of the stories. I suggested they could draw if they wanted, because after the activity in pairs, I would require them to share their partner's story with the rest of the group. For example, John and Vera were working together, and I requested that Vera tell the group about John's place and story, and John talk about Vera's, and so on.

Regarding history of iconic buildings, John had conducted research in advance of this meeting to talk about the design and completion of the Clifton Suspension Bridge. Vera started to say that the topic John had chosen was the Suspension Bridge. She turned to him for his input. He took the floor and shed some light on the 'recycled bridge'. We learnt as he spoke:

> *'I've got the suspension bridge. Some facts that people don't know. Everyone knows it was designed by Brunel. But in 1850 they started building the bridge and all they managed to build was just the two towers. And they ran out of money. And therefore, 9 years it was idle and Bristol rich people wanted the bridge to be demolished, 'cos it was an eye-sore and then, 9 years later … a new company starts rebuilding the bridge and not many people knows that all the iron, all the iron bridge, that it's up in there, it wasn't built here. It was brought from London. It was the Hungerford Bridge. And London did the demolition and they bring here all the metal, all the pieces we see hanging on the top of the place.'*

Mary and Pete discussed being at Cabot Circus and the plans for the construction of a high-speed train to connect London and Bristol. Pete said he enjoyed being together with friends at Cabot Circus. Mary said she was unhappy with the layout of the shops as it was distressing for her. Pete described the different shops as if he were walking by the High Street. When we gathered as a group, Mary showed a drawing from Pete's story. She started with, 'He's out with his friends on Cabot Circus and he meets up with them' (see Figure 8).

The older adults intervened from across the table, adding how much Cabot Circus has changed and modernised. Betty complained, 'I don't like it.' One of the other older adults agreed with that sentiment, saying, 'It's all shops in there. I get lost now. I don't know where I am'.

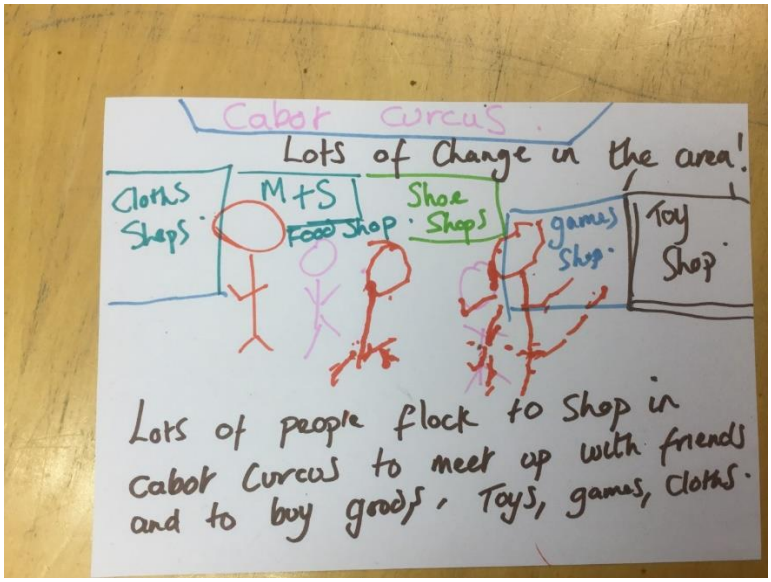


Figure 8. A day with friends at Cabot Circus drawing rendition.

This intervention opened dialogue between all of the participants. We heard that Shirley had lived in the Clifton and Hotwells areas, and the other younger and older participants added to the conversation around these areas with details of their own. By the end of this activity, participants wanted to know more details of the stories they heard and to bring their own stories which they remembered after listening to the group.

On this occasion, Vera brought some crisps from the general table to her group table and shared them with all of the participants there. I offered food to everyone and Shirley took one of the sandwiches, saying to me, 'because you took the trouble to make them' after I explained that I prepared them myself.

From that second meeting onwards, participants became more comfortable and outspoken and the good disposition of the group became clear. During our discussions and at the end of the meetings, the younger and older adults made positive remarks about their participation. Shirley summarised the second session as an enriching encounter. She cheerfully noted 'how much one can learn in these meetings. Talking to lovely people… Having a wonderful time… learning from the younger and the younger learning from us [the older adults]'. In response to that, Tonya exclaimed 'What a lovely time we just had!' Being a fifteen-year-old making that comment, I found that it was a remarkable and uplifting moment.

During the fourth session, we learnt from John about Sarah Ann Henley, who survived an attempted suicide after jumping off the Suspension Bridge in 1885. In addition to this story, Shirley had brought a clipping of the local newspaper in which her grandson was given a

medal for preventing a man from making a similar jump. The clipping was passed around the table and everyone showed interest.

Vera: Wow, how are you related to him?

Shirley: It's my grandson. He's a police officer.

Betty: Yes, he's definitely lovely! I can attest to that.

Scarlett: How did he stop him?

Shirley: My grandson and his friend Toby noticed this man climbing and approached him cautiously. My son climbed to get the man, and his friend made sure none of them fell.

Tonya: Wow! We need more officers like that!

John: Your story is remarkable. Makes you wonder about all those who DO jump.

Mary: What a brave young man your grandson!

Pete: I like stories with a happy ending.

***

Across the full vignette, with its narrative arc, I have tried to capture the progression of the intergenerational encounters from an initial landscape of age segregation to a more reciprocal approach of intergenerationality. Now I am going to use the vignette to contextualise the findings.

The **first finding** identifies the prevalence of understandings of age, intergenerational relationships and stereotypes which influenced the intergenerational encounters of this cycle. In the process of recruiting participants for this cycle, I attended their 'intergenerational' lunch club called Making-Friends. All of the participants from this cycle were part of Making-Friends. I had noticed that the exchanges happening between older and younger adults at the Making-Friends club were more similar to the asymmetric relationships reviewed in the literature (Kaplan, 2002). Despite knowing the sort of intergenerational interactions that characterised Making-Friends (see section 4.5.2 of the previous chapter), I assumed that these interactions would not influence my study. I thought that my design and the many efforts made to encourage equal participation in dialogue and activities throughout our research meetings would automatically yield the results I expected. With the scenes described in the vignette, I wanted to show how pre-existing understandings and experiences of age, intergenerational relationships, along with habits, prejudice, and stereotypes (Valentine, 2015) panned out. As it has been argued, both younger and older people are susceptible to being stereotyped

(Blaikie 1999, cited in Vincent & Phillips, 2013; Bytheway et al., 2007; Mc Hugh, 2003; Meade 1995; Valentine, 2015). There are three examples which illustrate my points regarding existing intergenerational experiences, and stereotypes. The first is evident from the first session, when participants were gravitating towards their well-known friends of the same age-group, I considered this situation as related to their exchanges within the Making-Friends group. Reflecting on the Making-Friends intergenerational encounters I had noted in my journal *'a usual exchange between the older and younger adults reminds me of going to a coffee shop. You see customers buying their teas and coffees. They might ask how the person who is tending is, but this is just a formality. They might have seen their faces and said 'hello', but that is where their engagement stops.'* [Researcher's journal, September 2016]

Regardless of table set-ups, or my direction to work in pairs/trios, interactions between participants reminded me of their regular encounters with Making-Friends. In that example, participants felt the impulse to work as a group when discussing the images of younger and older adults featured in the questionnaire so that participants would be working with their same-age friends. After this first day, I reflected that there were clear group dynamics established. Friends wanted to sit next to one another and were exchanging views with each other, even when they were sitting at separate tables. This dynamic was a clear indication that there was an existing intergenerational practice that was different from the one I intended for this research. I linked participants' resistance to my suggested intergenerational practice with the prevalence of age-related stereotypes. An example of stereotypes is the discussion that Evelyn, Tonya, and Scarlett had about whose contributions are valuable, and who can teach or learn. The existence of differences gave rise to tensions which are part of the second finding, though, as I noted, this example also showed a 'defiance' of those intergenerational stereotypes.

The **second finding** is around intergenerational tensions, mainly resulting from difference in opinion, and sometimes the varied views, understandings, and experiences (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) that participants brought with them, all of which permeated the interactions. In the conversations from the first and second sessions, I had the impression of an implicit agreement that the younger participants would need to follow the line of conversation set by the older adults, with little or no room for confrontation or clashing views to be explored. This dynamic was reinforced by the older adults' assertions that they were useful and knowledgeable and could teach a lot to younger people, and the tacit assumption that 'respect' means no confrontation or discussion of difference of opinion. A second example of this tension in the vignette is found in the discussion that Mary and Pete had about Cabot Circus: both of them had different experiences of the same place. For Pete, it was a joyful site where

he would go to with his friends to spend time together. Meanwhile, for Mary and Betty, it was confusing and distressing because of the size and layout of the shops.

In addition to these power dynamics, there were other tensions visible during the process of trying to decide what stories the participants would use to create a digital story, which I recorded in my research journal: *'All participants said it was easier for them to have a group conversation as opposed to talking in pairs.'* [Researcher's journal] I suspected that maybe it felt safer for the younger participants to have their friends in the same conversation. They seemed more engaged and participative when the whole group was discussing a topic or presenting a story. Also, there was increased interest for listening to the older adult's stories in general, and there were more interventions from the older adults and fewer from the younger adults. In these exchanges, the younger participants would reinforce the information given by the older adults or add more detail. Yet, I felt content with this result because I considered this was a positive change to a more reciprocal relationship, particularly when compared with the kind of interactions they had at the beginning of the sessions. Just as differences spark tensions, tensions invite negotiations.

The **third finding** is regarding fostering participation and critical dialogue in intergenerational settings. As explained in the Methodology chapter, I designed an intervention using place-based storytelling with a critical pedagogy approach to foster more reciprocal intergenerational relations. An example of this is the discussion of the pictures from the questionnaire (see Figure 7). In having the opportunity to reflect on age representation, participants exchanged views and understandings anchored in their personal experiences with members of the other age-groups outside of the context of my study. This initial task set the foundation for participants to feel comfortable in challenging existing concepts and structures (Freire, 1972; 1988; 1996). I observed a very gentle shift from the younger adults serving and catering to the elderly to what seemed more horizontal interactions, with them taking some food to share with everyone. I observed that there was an organic increase in the communications between the different age-groups. To create something together, there needs to be some basic level of agreement and understanding. In the second meeting, I requested that participants listen to their partner's stories and then put it on paper to later share with the group: this activity was meant to encourage understanding and agreement.

An example of this shift away from unbalanced interactions could be appreciated in the conversation about Cabot Circus. Lorna, Mary's carer for the day, intervened in the discussion between Mary, Betty, and Pete, with Lorna trying to find middle ground. She explained that it was not possible to please everybody as some things must be done. She used the example of the new London-Bristol train, adding that even though there was disagreement about the

construction of this train in the affected neighbourhoods, the development of the city could not be stopped. She conceded to Mary that maybe things that are working well should not be changed. Mary and Pete agreed and respected each other's opinion and carried on with the activities, appearing contented. This interaction reflects previous suggestions that intergenerational practice can have a positive influence in changing negative perceptions of different age-groups (Springate et al., 2008; Melville and Hatton-Yeo, 2015), which influenced my choice to devise opportunities for negotiation and understanding after sharing stories, which provided new insights from the point of view of the other. I thought that if participants understood their partner, they could co-create their stories. As a result, agreement on how the stories were digitised would follow, unless no agreement or understanding was reached.

In this regard, there was one unexplained incident that drew my attention. In the second session, when participants had brought a picture of a favourite place in Bristol to share a story, Tonya had been paired with Evelyn. The story he shared with her was about meeting his same-sex partner. Evelyn sought clarification by asking if he meant his 'girlfriend' when he had mentioned his 'partner'. Upon hearing that it was a male 'partner', there was an awkward silence. I was fiddling with the sound recorder, with my back to them. So, I did not see their expressions, but I could hear Evelyn cough and then proceed to go back over her story again. Tonya listened. When I finished with the voice recorder on my phone, it was time for the next activity. I asked if participants were ready to move on and all agreed. For the next task, participants came together as a group to share the individual stories with the rest of the group. I asked for volunteers and Evelyn expressed her unwillingness to talk about Tonya's story. He flushed and he looked away from the table. I noticed some awkwardness after this conversation, but I was not sure if I had to address it, or how I should approach it. At the end of the session, they left quickly, and I did not think much of it. After that session, Evelyn dropped out. She did not attend the session that followed and sent apologies with Oskar. She told him that 'it was too challenging' [the activities I organised], and that 'it was difficult to know what to do'. Tonya too was missing, due to illness, but Vera reassured me that he would be back the following week. None of them placed a complaint about the other being disrespectful. I interpreted this interaction as an example of clashing worldviews, but I did not know at the time how to handle it and felt completely out of my depth. Looking back, I think I could have approached both parties to find out what actually happened and intervene accordingly. I was expecting to have an opportunity to talk to Tonya, but he seemed okay on the fourth session and then he did not attend the final interview. I did not try to approach Evelyn at all, because she had withdrawn her participation and I felt it would be too intrusive to try and investigate what had happened. What I learnt from this instance was that I needed to spend more time with participants at the beginning discussing and eliciting collective agreement for our

principles (outlined in the methodology chapter section 4.4) as guidelines of conduct, emphasising an opening space for diversity and being respectful.

Returning to the subject of understanding, there were other negotiations taking place and some of these negotiations also included me. As I mentioned, I had arbitrarily chosen the task of creating a digital story, with the intention to give a more tangible purpose to our meetings. However, I failed to communicate this intention with participants in this cycle. In this case, I had participants telling me openly how they wanted to go about sharing their stories, and I conceded that perhaps it was not necessary for them to digitise anything at all. An example of this participant input occurred when Shirley told me to *'ask us questions, but do not ask us to write'* and Tonya, along with the other younger adults, suggested that it was best to talk together as a group. I felt that if I pushed them enough, I could convince them of doing a digital story. Only at the end of this cycle I realised that this approach clashed with my participatory ethos and created conflict between me and participants. The kind of co-creation they were interested in had just literally been revealed to me, when they said they wanted to just sit as a group and talk about their stories as I recorded them (these stories will be explored in the following section). I repeatedly suggested that participants use MyB, and they suggested otherwise. But in my misunderstanding, I could not see clearly at the time. Upon further reflection at a later stage, I realised that I needed to be more flexible and try to include participants more in the design of my study, which I considered for the next cycle. Regardless of these difficulties, all participants had expressed enthusiasm when we were getting ready to digitise our stories during the fourth session. Additionally, all participants who were interviewed commented that these interactions had been a good and valuable experience for them.

At the beginning, some of the older adults seemed sceptical of engaging more personally with the younger adults. However, eventually, these same older adults were also pointing out how talented and intelligent the younger people were and how much they enjoyed their company. For instance, following Shirley's summary of our second session, Betty commented that she was happy to be part of the study since she [and the other older adults] learnt unexpected and new things from the young. This example relates to the fourth finding.

The **fourth finding** is about using place-based storytelling as a practice to aid in the development of intergenerational relationships. In the vignette above, there is a subtle hint that the storytelling encouraged participants who were starting to get to know each other. Gradually, after some time together, the different age groups were eager to engage in intergenerational conversations. In terms of the importance of place, the older adults confirmed in the interviews that having the topic of the city where they have lived most of their lives meant that they were confident in talking about it. A similar sentiment was expressed by

Vera and Pete during the third session. By the fourth meeting, there was more involvement between the age groups than there was at the beginning. In the fourth session, I had agreed with participants that they would talk about their stories during the final meeting and that I would record them and help them upload the audio recordings to the online platform. However, the fifth session never took place, as I had a problem with transport and missed the session. I tried to rearrange but could not find a suitable time for everyone. In this cycle I had set out to 'digitise' and put in MyB participants' stories crafted by the intergenerational pairs. I had not anticipated that sometimes the main experience is not a final product, but rather, it is the process itself. I witnessed how, throughout our encounters, older and younger adults who took part in this journey developed their relationships. There was a clear shift away from the more transactional conversations they had before our meetings, which can be observed in the conversation that followed Shirley's story about her grandson being awarded a medal. I noted that these interactions seemed for genuine and meaningful when compared to the beginning of session 1. Furthermore, Tonya explained during our discussion at the end of the fourth meeting that 'we enjoy having these conversations as a group [older and younger adults] and we would like to continue this way. We learn a lot and it is easier to listen to everyone.' His statement was supported by participants in the older group and equally amongst the younger adults. This dynamic will be explored in more detail in the forthcoming sections, but here it is important to note that these exchanges were made possible through the sharing of stories, as participants had the opportunity to ask probing questions that engaged them in the conversation, allowing them to learn more details of the stories, and, in doing so, get to know better the other participants.

At the beginning of our sessions, there were clear patterns of intergenerational relationships. From the literature that I reviewed before conducting my study, I identified asymmetry in the design of intergenerational practice (Kaplan, 2002; Kuehne, 2003a, 20003b; Kuehne & Melville, 2014). This identification of the tendency for imbalance in most intergenerational encounters gave me a point of reference to contrast my findings, particularly since one of the aims of my study was to encourage more horizontal interactions between the generations. The initial encounters were also influenced by existing age-prejudice (Valentine, 2015; Zick et al., 2011). Even though tensions between generations resulting from diversity have been acknowledged (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2013; Valentine, 2015), much of the literature on intergenerational practices does not engage with these issues of diversity. Younger people often have very different ideas about race, sex, and politics (Adekunle, 2015; Steeth and Schuman, 1992; Vertovek, 2007; Valentine, 2015) and being able to discuss these issues across generations is important for increasing intergenerational understanding and communications. In my intervention, I tried to see how critical pedagogy could help in

negotiating differing worldviews, through enabling a space for participants to be in charge of their narratives and engage in meaningful dialogue across generations. In addition, inviting participants to share and co-create stories offered participants from both generations opportunities to connect through the storytelling (Cameron, 2012; Bouchard Ryan et al., 2004). The fact that these stories were anchored in the city of Bristol added to the sense of connection and offered participants a common ground from which to build on the conversations and thus, giving place a pivotal role in the intergenerational encounters (Dickens and MacDonald, 2015; Mannion, 2012).

Looking at the data elaborated above through the lens of my theoretical framework I identified that the interplay of participation and reification (Wenger, 1998) shifted as the encounters were weaving our intergenerational community. Examples that are illustrated in the vignette show participants negotiating meaning and confronting preconceived notions of the different age-groups. Additional examples demonstrate the negotiations of meaning regarding their understandings of 'intergenerational practice'. The learning occurring as a result of the sessions was also related to the integration of the individual participants into the intergenerational community, having an impact both in the participants' identity and belonging to the community.

In terms of negotiations, there were two levels of negotiations happening simultaneously. On the one hand, there were clashes between older and younger adults. On the other hand, there was my own intervention with which I imposed my own understandings and expectations of 'intergenerational' and 'place-based storytelling' practices. The negotiation between participants (who had preliminary intergenerational experiences individually and as a group in Making-Friends) with me (who had my own experiences and proposed the activities for this cycle) made clear the importance of my role as facilitator, mediating the practices of this intergenerational community. In the following section, I discuss liminal spaces, the boundaries of the communities that were being negotiated.

5.3 Technologies and mediation of intergenerational encounters findings

In this section I discuss how the boundaries that defined our community were negotiated via the local practices and with the use of technological tools, and my role of facilitator and researcher.

The data in the previous section shows that it takes time to develop confidence in sharing stories, and that both younger and older people often might consider their stories uninteresting to others. Time is needed to build confidence. In this section, the overarching theme is *mediation and the role of technologies* in sharing and exploring stories in intergenerational

settings. I explore what occurred when I tried to use both non-digital technologies and MyB with the group to share and co-create stories.

There are three findings that will be discussed in this section adding to the four presented in the previous section. As suggested there, place-based storytelling can be used to increase understanding, and so the fifth finding is about storytelling being understood as a boundary object that brings together two (or more) CoP and which can be used to start a practice that defines a new CoP. Next, the sixth finding is about the role of technologies as boundary objects that help in the negotiation of meaning, and as objects of negotiation in and of themselves. Using technology can help or hinder intergenerational encounters and the storytelling practices, but more important than the technology is the task. The seventh finding is regarding the importance of facilitating intergenerational activities. In combination with what technologies are used, mediation of exchanges and responsiveness are key to successful outcomes when running an intergenerational intervention. In the following pages, I again illustrate these findings with a vignette.

Using technologies to explore and co-create: 'I can talk for England!' … Who is Sarah Guppy?

On the first day, after Pete, Vera, Mary, and John finished their questionnaire, I handed out notebooks and suggested that participants use them as journals. They took their notebooks and thanked me. When I proceeded to supply the notebooks to Betty, Prudence, Evelyn, Shirley, Scarlett, and Tonya, the response was the exact opposite. I explained the purpose of the notebooks. I suggested to the participants in Table Bthat maybe they wanted to jot things down as we were meeting. They complained that they were not very good at writing. Shirley said, 'Don't ask me to write. At my age! But if you ask me questions, I can answer. I can talk for England!'

Participants at TableA, however, welcomed the 'gift' and said they would write their thoughts in their notebooks. When I gave them the notebooks, I told participants that they could note down their ideas IF they found it easier to process that way. I added that they could draw as well, or choose not to use them at all. I used the current activity as an example, and indicated that they might want to make some notes about their impressions of the people shown in the pictures accompanying the questionnaire and how those photos presented stereotypes. Shirley replied that there was no point in her writing down as she had just told me the answers when I was filling out her questionnaire. I reiterated that writing in the journal was an optional activity. She seemed content with that response.

On day 2, participants brought images of places they chose and after they spoke with a partner in their intergenerational pair, they were asked to draw or write details of that story to later share with the group.

Vera listened to John's story about the design and construction of the Suspension Bridge. She relied on the notes that John had brought with him, since he devoted time to writing the facts in his journal ahead of the second session (see Figure 9).

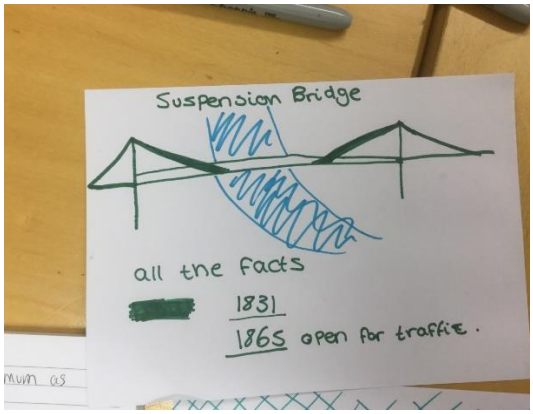


Figure 9. Clifton Suspension Bridge facts and drawing by Vera

Across the room, Betty relived her walks with her children, grandchildren, and dogs through Blaise Castle Estate. She had carried with her an envelope with some pictures and spoke at length about her ventures. Scarlett and Shirley listened attentively. When the time to select a story to share with the group, all three women agreed that they wanted to talk about the time Betty took Pete, her grandson, to the river. He was holding a red balloon and wanted to stick his hands in the water but also wanted to hold his balloon. This story was reinterpreted by Scarlett's hand-drawn 'Child by the river' masterpiece (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Scarlett's rendering of 'Child by the River'

Because I knew that some of the older adults were concerned with using technology, I moved the introduction and activities with MyB to the third session. I considered that if participants got to know each other first, they would feel comfortable asking for help in their pairs. On the day after session 2, I emailed David, the school librarian and asked if we could use the school desktop computers and the internet connection in the library. The plan was to use MyB to find stories related to the places that participants had chosen in session 2. David kindly offered his help.

Participants sat at the tables in the middle of the room while David set up the computers. I was notified about the absences of Tonya and Evelyn. I explained that the plan for the day was to explore via the digital map the areas of Bristol that had been discussed during the previous session. I asked participants to join in their pairs and trios from the previous week and recall the places they talked about.

Meanwhile, I joined David as he set up the computers. He logged us in and opened the Map your Bristol website. Once the computers were ready, participants were asked to find the areas of the map as agreed.

Sitting at the computer station that one sees first upon entering the library, John and Vera inspected the Clifton area on the map, looking for the Suspension Bridge. At the second computer station, the one to their right-hand side, Mary and Pete set out to find Cabot Circus. Suzanne, Mary's main carer, shifted from being with Pete and Mary to sitting with the group at the other end of the room. After the two empty computers, on the far right-hand side, Betty, Shirley, Scarlett, and sometimes Suzanne looked at the Clifton and Hotwells areas (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. Participants using Map your Bristol

Shirley called for my help. She and her group asked about directions on how to do the activity. I randomly clicked an object from the map that turned out to be an audio recording. They listened to it. Afterwards, they looked for other items in the Clifton area.

I approached Pete and Mary, who seemed hesitant. They had not found any items pinned to Cabot Circus and did not know what to do. I encouraged them to look for other areas that had materials attached to them. I indicated they could identify these materials by the coloured dots in the map (see Figure 12).

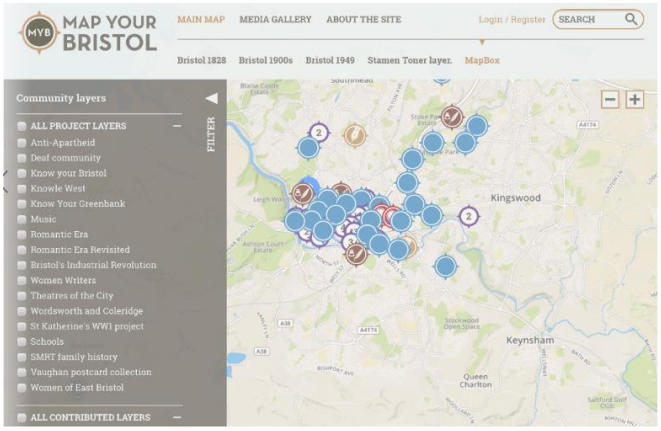


Figure 12. Map your Bristol screen

Out of the corner of my eye, I caught a glimpse of John and Vera's screen. They were outside of the Map your Bristol website. I went quickly to investigate why this was the case. As it turned out, John had gone home after the second session, determined to learn more about the history of the Suspension Bridge. He discovered that a woman named Sarah Guppy was involved with the bridge design. He was expecting to see more information about this in MyB. But, since they did not find anything about Sarah Guppy on the MyB map, he suggested that they look her up in Google. They also decided to verify regarding the recycling of the Hungerford Bridge, which was the exact thing they were doing when I approached them.

Pete and Mary, after realising that there was no information on the place that they had initially selected (Cabot Circus), had moved to see the Suspension bridge.

After half an hour, I asked participants to come back to the tables in the middle of the room for discussion. I invited them to think what was possible to do with the MyB website. I wanted them to consider what WE could DO with it. More importantly, what DID WE WANT to do with it?

Participants expressed interest in the website, but they did not feel they could contribute to it. Shirley mentioned she had a couple of stories about growing up in Hotwells and Clifton. Suzanne, Pete, and I encouraged her to share them with the group.

David turned on the speakers on one computer and set up the projector. I navigated a couple of the stories in Map your Bristol, suggesting that participants reconsider using it. I told them our lives might seem too trivial, but it could be worth documenting something that we felt was 'normal'. Noticing their hesitation, I asked the younger participants to see their stories with fresh eyes. In a similar vein, I reminded the older participants that their stories matter.

I suggested that we could have two types of stories: one based on our OWN stories, and another which would document a story of change. The first would recount participants' personal experiences. The latter would have selected a place and presenting the contrast between the point of view of the older adult in the past and the present state with the help of their younger counterpart. People were happy with this idea. They said they would select their stories to work on during the following session.

On the fourth day, Shirley had brought her collection of Bristol History books and was showing us her paper clippings and telling the story of her grandson receiving a bravery award…

***

With this vignette I tried to contextualise the findings in relation to mediating of technologies and my role as facilitator.

In the **fifth finding**, I argue that storytelling functioned as a boundary practice. According to Wenger (1998), a practice can act as a boundary that delineates a CoP. However, as it has been pointed out in the Theoretical Framework chapter, boundaries can also be generative of connections, offering the opportunity to negotiate meaning and even engender a new community. From the data presented in the vignette, this dynamic can be seen in the instances where participants' understandings of storytelling, including the contents of the stories, and the ways in which these stories were shared, were negotiated with my understandings. For example, my assumption that participants would 'naturally' want to share their stories using MyB, versus participant's hesitation to consider their stories as relevant to be online. Similarly, I noted John's preference for 'historical' facts, versus Betty and Shirley's confidence in sharing stories closely related to their life-experiences. Storytelling served as a bridge for participants to negotiate meaning via our local processes of learning. From the very first meeting until the final one, participants' involvement in the storytelling activities was a process of developing our understandings of what a story is, who can tell a story, how we tell stories, and whose stories matter.

Participants' preliminary experience of intergenerational practice was influenced by their individual experiences and their collective knowledge of the activities as an intergenerational group with Making-Friends. In this research there are two main practices in question: namely

storytelling and intergenerational practice acting as boundary objects (Star, 1989). In order for these practices to enable the emergence of a distinct storytelling intergenerational practice for the research enterprise, an ongoing process of negotiation of meaning needed to happen.

I began this cycle by proposing that we share our stories and create together a digital version of those stories. This process required negotiations of meaning throughout the sessions as we were shaping our own shared understanding of our place-based storytelling practice. This negotiation responded to an interplay of participation and reification, as well as the involvement of participants in the dialogues and exchanges. I understood reification from the process of negotiations that were shaping our understandings through participation in the activities; for example, the reification of my idea of 'storytelling' that was guiding the intervention activities in this cycle, was negotiated and reshaped through the negotiations taking place when I noted participants engagement or disinterest in the activities. Similarly, participants' understanding of place-based storytelling was changing in response to our interactions. In terms of content, I tried to communicate to participants the breadth and flexibility of my understanding of 'storytelling'. It took time for participants to feel confident about the stories they were sharing. Participants' understanding of their own participation through the lens of critical pedagogy was also an important component of these exchanges. In terms of format, I also had a wide vision regarding the media that participants could use to communicate stories, but negotiations between my vision and the participants' still took place. For example, the vignette presented times when both older and younger adults reiterated their preference for oral accounts of their stories or the use of pen and paper over digital technologies. Overall, as these negotiations were taking place and our storytelling practice became established, the exchanges provided an ongoing forum for mutual engagement. Thus, the centre piece represented by our intergenerational practice started to emerge and be shaped. One challenging aspect of negotiating our storytelling practice was the inclusion of technology, which leads to the next finding.

The **sixth finding** suggests that technologies act as boundary objects. Apart from practices, boundary objects represent another type of connection between communities. In this case, individual understandings of technology, including my own, had to be negotiated so that an intergenerational practice could be developed. When I started this research project, I had envisioned introducing MyB to the study participants. From the pilot experience, I learnt that some training was needed to use it, which is why I thought that using non-digital technologies would better prepare participants for a session dedicated to becoming familiar with MyB. With this preparation ahead of exploring the website, I assumed that they would then be ready to digitise their stories. From the beginning, Shirley, Evelyn, and Betty indicated their dislike for computers and 'technology' things, and they were open about their being unhappy with using

technology. But I saw potential of convincing them to do otherwise when they conceded that they could have someone else handle the technology for them. I was convinced I could show them the advantages of using such tools. In the second session, the first task of choosing a place and bringing some materials to go along with the stories had run successfully. However, as we began the transition to the digital world, we encountered several hurdles, preventing us from continuing to the end goal that I had stubbornly picked. As I was somehow stuck with the idea that Map your Bristol was the only tool available for this project, I failed to listen to what I repeatedly heard from the participants, and the fact that I made decision beforehand conflicted with my participatory approach. Another example of these negotiations can be seen in the instances when I intended that participants use MyB and they preferred to use books, photos, and newspapers and they suggested I record the audio.

As it was explained earlier, older participants' reluctance to use technologies deterred them from wanting to create a digital story. In spite of having indicated confidence and willingness to use digital technologies, younger participants supported the older adults in their refusal to carry out digitisation of a story. Yes, there was some inspiration from the little time we spent trying to make sense of MyB. But, beyond that experience, there was a clear preference for oral storytelling, and, when additional tools were used, the main ones chosen for sharing stories were ordinary and 'old-fashioned' pens and paper. Digital and non-digital technologies enhanced elements of the stories being told, sometimes by drawing (e.g. Scarlett's drawing, see Figure 10) and other times through internet searches (e.g. John facts of the Clifton Suspension Bridge). However, these technologies remained in the background, for the main tool in this journey was face-to-face dialogue, which was clearly stated by Tonya when he said that '*we want to tell stories. And you can record them… if that's what you want'*. This comment brings us to the seventh finding, namely my role as facilitator – or, in CoP terms, a broker.

The **seventh finding** concerns my role as facilitator or broker. According to Wenger (1998), a broker is somebody who provides connections and can introduce elements of one practice into another CoP. Being the researcher, I tasked myself with creating a plan to foster the emergence of an intergenerational CoP. This position implied that I was putting forward my own ideas of 'intergenerationality', 'storytelling', 'technology', and even 'refreshments', to name a few aspects. Even though sometimes I worried that I might be imposing my vision, the origin of this research was that I wanted to propose new ways of doing intergenerational activities so that participants could have new experiences with people from different age-groups. As a result, I needed to be available for participants and facilitate the activities and interactions. This role can be observed in the data whenever I intervened to explain, clarify, and reassure. I tried to prioritise my critical approach and recognise and respect my participants' agency. However, this approach was not always a straightforward process. In

one example, what I perceived to be an inconvenience later proved to be an encouraging clue to re-think my intervention. The event took place on day 3 when I requested that participants use Map your Bristol for exploring the areas they had been talking about during the previous session. I was obsessed with using MyB and so my reaction after witnessing John and Vera 'wander off' was to request that they go back to using MyB. After the session, I reflected on how this interaction with other technological resources could have been explored to engage participants. I then realised that the freedom to explore other websites or spaces for information, as chosen by the participants, was more suited to my participatory approach, and it could yield better results if I were to be more flexible about what technology was available and give participants freedom in using it.

Another aspect of my role as a broker was that I aimed to enable the conditions for the emergence of our intergenerational and place-based storytelling practices. As I was facilitating the dialogues between younger and older adults, I witnessed the group becoming closer. The joint experience drew them together. During the sessions, participants would make positive remarks about being in the study. On the second day, Pete said 'it was lovely to come for a talk'. At the end of our third session, Betty opened our conversation saying, 'I'm learning a lot!' All of their feedback was a welcome result. They began to talk about their lives with one another and were willing to listen to everyone else in the group. The focus was no longer about having a cup of tea or a refill of coffee. By the end of our fourth meeting, conversations had a deeper subject: people's lives. These negotiations and mediations through dialogue were made possible as I responded to the need of engagement on the part of the researcher in the practice being interrogated following my action research design. A high level of reflexivity is required in AR (Somekh, 2009), and it is even more demanded in participatory research wherein relational aspects demand awareness of positionality (Cahill, 2007a; Kindon et al., 2007). Throughout, I have tried to illustrate how this reflexive process ran alongside all stages of my study, including the writing of this dissertation.

In the following section, I comment openly on the challenges and opportunities encountered when conducting this cycle of my research project.

5.4 Challenges and opportunities for intergenerational practice findings

From the data shown in previous sections, some challenges and opportunities have been introduced. In this section, the overarching theme is the considerations needed when designing for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP. By 'considerations', I intend to convey aspects of the study that may represent a difficulty; however, from a different perspective, these could also be considered opportunities. These considerations can be

classified as social, technological, methodological, and theoretical. I revisit some of the events mentioned earlier, with a focus on improving the ease of the process and applying learning for the next cycle. Here, there are four findings that I will address, continuing on from the seven findings already presented. The eighth finding is about negotiating social identities, the ninth finding is about technological considerations, the tenth is related to methodological considerations, and the eleventh and final finding for this cycle is about theoretical considerations.

The **eighth finding** involves negotiating identities. In the theoretical framework (see Chapter 3), I defined the concept of identity utilising Wenger's (1998) understanding: 'Building an identity consists of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities' (p. 145). This approach recognises the social, cultural, and historical character of our individual selves. Our identities are shaped throughout our lives, and, to a certain extent, they are informed by our belonging to social groups, and change over time and space. In the encounters evident in this study, there were numerous occasions in which the diversity of our backgrounds became evident. I present those differences as challenges, since at the time when I encountered them, it was how I perceived them. Nevertheless, those tensions gave rise to negotiations and in most cases resulted in stronger connections and better understandings. Here, it is important to note that negotiations did not necessarily mean agreement, as suggested in the theoretical framework (Wenger, 1998).

With my own background and worldview, I entered the room with participants to propose that we do this intergenerational research project. While trying to encourage the emergence of an intergenerational CoP, there was a process of learning, but also this work also involved a process of identity negotiation. Here, I address my input as a researcher in the workshops. There were challenges mediating the sessions, and being a participant-researcher-facilitator of the workshops was a demanding task. Both my expectations and those of the participants played a role in shaping the individual sessions and overall project. I was expecting participants to understand my motivations and to 'organically' develop intergenerational connections. I thought I had given them enough information about myself before starting the study, but during the sessions I realised that I had not clearly explained what I was seeking to achieve with my study, as participants seemed unsure.

Additionally, there was the question 'what is the meaning of research?' Participants and I had very different ideas of what a study looked like and what was possible within the boundaries of qualitative, doctoral research. The moment I said that I was at the University of Bristol, people at Making-Friends dubbed me 'the University Lady'. Later, when Prudence dropped out, she mentioned not being clever enough for doing something with the university.

These differing views on what constitutes 'academic research' sparked self-doubt among the older adults who constantly sought approval and reaffirmation. 'I don't know if we're helping,' said Shirley on a number of occasions. I reassured the participants in each session that there was no set requirement, other than participation, and even that was optional since they could decide to stop altogether. I perceived that there were invisible obstacles along the way, namely ideas that research happens in the form of 'testing', that studies are carried out in the physical location of a school, that research is a sort of experiment which somehow is proving how smart someone is. In the AR literature, it has been suggested that even though coproduction is a highly desired aspect of the research process, this work usually entails unforeseen challenges (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire, 2003; Somekh, 2009). Furthermore, scholars have also identified perceptions of research similar to those that I encountered in my study, and difficulties of becoming co-researchers are part of the obstacles inherent to the process of conducting participatory research (Kindon et al., 2007; van der Meulen, 2015). These arguments helped me pose the question on my positionality as a researcher: what was the impact of my presence? I then considered that I was a young Mexican woman, doing qualitative research, attempting to bring people from different age-groups together so they would talk. I realised this pictured could seem somehow alien and far removed from the usual conceptions of doing research, which may convey an image of an older white man in a lab coat. Equally, I often worried that I was doing something 'wrong' with the research because participants were concerned, but I was reassured when they told me that they enjoyed being in these intergenerational sessions and sharing experiences, time, and space with each other.

Another example of differences of understandings is the expectations that participants expressed in the questionnaire at the beginning of the research which I contrast with their participation throughout the study. I explore this example in the paragraphs below.

Prudence, who was a regular at Making-Friends, thought we would do quizzes and drink tea, activities that she was used to from her experience with Making-Friends. She dropped out, thinking the study was too difficult for her.

Shirley joined my research because she thought this could give her 'a better understanding of [young] people'. *Shirley, questionnaire. [Q8. What do you want as a result from this project?]*

Betty was hopeful that taking part in the study could mean an 'increased understanding between people.' *Betty, questionnaire. [Q8]*

Mary thought the study would help to bring young and [old] together more. *Mary, questionnaire. [Q7. What do you think will result from this project?]*

Evelyn wanted to join because she thought that young people 'are lovely'.

John thought this research project would result in more understanding ‘between the young and the old’, and he stated that he wanted to ‘find ways of how to integrate all the different age groups by doing activities together which is a bit difficult if we don’t’ have the resources’ *John, questionnaire. [Q8]*

Scarlett wanted from the study ‘A change that will make a difference’. *Scarlett, questionnaire. [Q8*]

Pete’s answer to the question ‘What do you want as a result from this project?’ was ‘To get closer to the elderly’. *Pete, questionnaire. [Q8]*

Tonya thought that ‘A change that will mater [sic]’ would be a result from my study. Tonya, questionnaire. [*Q7]*, but his following answer was somewhat enigmatic. He stated that he wanted to have ‘safety whilst out’ *Tonya, questionnaire. [Q8].*

I never got the opportunity to clarify what Tonya meant when writing ‘safety whilst out’, but I thought it could be related to the perceived negative views older adults have of young people (Cohen, 2002; North & Fiske, 2012). Equally, there is a chance he meant it in relation to his sexuality.

Another puzzlement was Vera’s response regarding the prize I offered. Vera wrote in her questionnaire that she joined the research because she wanted to win the prize I was offering. She then crossed out that part of her answer, but her edit was not perfect and I could still read what she had written. Next to the struck-through sentence, she wrote that she wanted to be closer with older people. I was content after reading it; it made me giggle. First, I noted that she felt comfortable writing that. Secondly, because the money was an incentive for participation, I was happy that it was an attractive reward for participants. Nonetheless, she had changed her mind and crossed it. Was that because she thought it was a ‘wrong’ answer? Was it because she was challenging me? Or playing a game? (i.e. as mentioned earlier, like my classmates from secondary school who provided contradictory statements on surveys). My position was not to pass moral judgment. Instead, I associated it with the ‘wrong’ answer explanation because I also noted that the younger participants were trying to answer the questionnaires together after I had instructed them to fill them on their own. They were comparing their answers and showing approval or disapproval. And if they noticed that the older participants were unsure, they offered to help them with the answers. I found it interesting that participants teamed up in this way, which leads into next theme around exchanging stories to connect with each other.

All the older adults were optimistic about their participation in my research. They commended the initiative and suggested that I should continue doing more work similar to this. From the

interviews with the older adults, I confirmed that the location where I was conducting my research was 'disadvantaged' and infamous for high rates of crime activity and low socio-economic status. Except for John, the older participants had needed to drop out of secondary school. Before the interviews, I had doubts about my research design and the results from the intervention. Having just then discovered that the school was in a disadvantaged area made me reconsider the influence of this factor in our encounters. For example, in session 4 Shirley and Betty discussed the hardships of working during wartime and being forced out of schooling after Scarlett and Vera commented that they would have liked to be working rather than studying. In this conversation there were notions of 'education' as a privilege that the older adults also expressed throughout the study and more explicitly during our interviews. I reflected that their understanding of academia and higher education designated me as an elite and added to my 'otherness'. I thought that if the participants from this cycle were happy to join a second cycle I could build up on this information to enhance my design, and I could see the crystallisation of my efforts of nurturing this intergenerational community. With the help of the interviews, I saw our encounters in a different light. I not only understood some of these implications, but I also learnt at a later stage that being familiar with the settings of my research was crucial. And for some reason, it had not occurred to me earlier.

The **ninth finding** addresses technological considerations. The outspoken reticence of most of the older participants in using technology has been illustrated throughout this chapter, as has the greater likelihood for younger people to use technology in contrast with older adults (Hutchby, 2001; Selwyn, 2009; Venkatesh et al., 2003). However, the data shows that younger participants were not necessarily more inclined to use the digital technology in this study, but with sufficient encouragement and involvement, participants' interest increased (Hardill, 2015; Valentine, 2015). This finding is related to findings six and seven: technology as a boundary object, and my role as a broker, respectively. On the one hand, technology as a tool was viewed and used differently by each participant. On the other hand, the role of the researcher involves responsiveness, so that negotiations around the meaning and use of technology run as smoothly as possible. Thus, my role was to ensure improved understanding/use of the tool. There has to be a strong channel of communication between participants and researcher and in so doing, my technological considerations have to be in place throughout the research process: these are spaces where I need to help facilitate technological use. These considerations include, but are not limited to, access to technology (e.g. desktop computers, laptops, tablets), dexterity in using the technological tools for the interactions, willingness to use the technology, quality and reliability of technological infrastructure (e.g. the technology used is adequate for the purpose of the activities, access to the internet). In the case of the BSS cycle of my study, I planned my intervention knowing that I could arrange with the school

to use the desktop computers in the library that had an internet connection to access the MyB website. I had planned to guide participants to use MyB, and I was prepared with my own laptop and iPad should the need arise. According to Wenger (1998), artifacts that are considered boundary objects help connect CoP. In my study, the technological considerations have been an important aspect of the mediation and I have learnt that the extent to which technologies are helpful depends on the context.

The **tenth finding** is about the methodological implications and considerations of using AR with a participatory ethos for intergenerational work. The first methodological consideration is about being prepared to adapt the research instruments as and when needed. For example, with the questionnaire, I was aware that I was taking a big risk using this approach since I knew that an interview was a better fit. I also thought to myself that maybe the older adults felt cheated in the sense that I had promised them that there was no exam-like activity in my research when I first invited them. However, there is nothing more similar to an exam than a questionnaire! Betty said it was like going back to school, which again defeated the purpose of presenting my research as something innovative and friendly, rather than boring, strict, and difficult. In the final section of this chapter I discuss how this and other experiences changed my work for the next cycle.

Regarding other methodological decisions, I struggled with the participatory element along with my troubling notion of 'detachment' from research in trying to set up a research site where I was 'new'. In the following paragraphs I explore some of the implications of that.

The first big challenge I identified was to gain access to the research site. Age segregation has been considered a problem from different angles (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2005; Vanderbeck, 2007; Rogoff et al., 2010; Winkler, 2013; Vanderbeck and Worth, 2015) and its institutional character stems from the rigid frameworks that result in missed opportunities for collaborations. When contacting older adults' organisations, I had to consider the logistics and safeguarding implications of inviting young people where older adults met or find a neutral space. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 4), I realised that the easiest option at the time was going to find an existing intergenerational group, and I focused on gaining access to one research site: BSS. In literature (Heydon, 2007; Heydon & O'Neill, 2014), there has been mention of the importance of designing research which aligns with the curriculum of schools. During the early stages of my planning, I had considered that I could link my research project with the subjects of history or geography. I briefly consulted with Oskar and later with Rose. Rose explained that the school staff was unavailable for extra activities, implying that a potential collaboration with the teachers was discouraged, while Oskar suggested that I used the leverage of their existing 'intergenerational' group. Therefore, given their responses, I

thought it might not be necessary to link my study with existing school subjects. Although this constituted a set of difficulties for my study, I recognise that the main reason I approached the school was because I perceived the opportunity it yielded as a place for encounter. Even though I had some knowledge from the literature and talking to other colleagues about the different hurdles one needs to tackle to do research in a school setting, I was still underprepared. One thing is to 'know of' something in the abstract, but it is a completely different thing to experience it first-hand. It definitely required much more energy than I had anticipated. Regarding the difficulties with the school, I was not surprised, but my knowing did not prevent me from feeling under pressure to prove myself as a capable and reliable researcher. Despite these difficulties, I was able to recruit enough participants for the cycle.

Reading through the different vignettes presented so far, it is possible to observe the progression from participants' transactional conversations in Making-Friends to their eagerness to spend time together sharing stories. Upon reflection, I realised that the kind of work that I wanted to be doing required an established relationship between me and the participants because my role was more important than I had anticipated. I was unaware of the need for participants to feel comfortable around me for better communication, trust, and understanding.

There were other misunderstandings and mismatching expectations from both participants and myself. I had initially planned to run a more participatory design. However, in the end, most of the decisions were taken by me, and as a result, participants often waited for me to communicate these decisions, but there were instances when they did something different. This process was nevertheless a negotiation. For example, there was the example of when John and Vera embarked on a Google search to talk through side stories about the Suspension Bridge instead of navigating Map your Bristol. I requested that they go back to the map because the objective of the activity was to find the different approaches that one could use with MyB. From that session, I noted in my researcher's journal that I 'should reconsider explaining the tasks in a clear, concise, accessible way.' On a later entry, after that cycle had finished, I reflected that 'maybe being more flexible about what technologies and how they are used will yield better results and enjoyment for everyone.'

Some of the challenges of miscommunication were harder than others. One example comes from December 2016 on the day when I was supposed to run the final session in the school cycle so that participants could finish up their stories. Shirley said she would bring her history books again for others to get inspiration and she promised to repeat her story about her grandson being awarded a medal. I was going to audio record the session to later digitise them in some format. But a number of mishaps occurred. I had prepared food to celebrate the

end of our meetings. I left my house to arrive to the place 30 minutes in advance of the start of the session, but I missed one bus and then everything started to fall apart. I walked to the next connection and missed the second bus. The following bus was delayed. I calculated I would be 10-15 minutes late for the beginning of the session, and I called Oskar to tell him this. When I finally was on a bus two stops before the school he called me to say that everyone had decided to go: by then, they had all gone and I should do the same. They said they preferred to reschedule, but I was left there, cake and all. I was terribly sad and tired.

I tried to reschedule after the Christmas break. The older adults were ill. The younger participants were busy with their exams and other school commitments. The younger participants said then they wanted to help, but that they were not available for a final session. I thus decided to cancel the final session and contacted them to see if they were happy to provide an interview. Older participants were happy to invite me to their houses for individual interviews, and these interviews were carried out in February 2017.

These developments gave me hope as I was still trying to arrange an interview to gather feedback from the younger participants. Also, I had not done the prize draw. The younger adults communicated to me that they preferred to allocate time after school to be interviewed as a group. I had to shorten the interview and reformat it as a group interview. The group interview was rather challenging, and I was underprepared for this task. Only two young people were available: Pete and Vera. Overall, these participants expressed positivity around their experience in my study. They even admitted that they would encourage '*others*' to join this kind of projects. When I ran the prize draw, Pete and Vera looked surprised. They helped me to make the papers with the younger participants names. I wrote out the older adults' names after Pete and Vera said they had forgotten the names. Scarlett won the prize and they went to find her and bring her out of her lesson. She was thrilled. I thanked the three young adults and they thanked me back, and then they left.

I was unprepared for what happened next following the interview with the younger participants. After packing my bag, I went to Rose's office. I started by thanking her and the school for their involvement. She seemed content. Then, as soon as she heard my intention for continuing with a second cycle of my study at the school, her tone changed to a serious and sombre one, and she explained the school and the students were busy. I tried to negotiate with her, suggesting that I invite a new group of students. She paused as if reconsidering, but instead she notified me that they were withdrawing their permission and support to continue my research there. This unexpected turn left me with the feeling of defeat, especially with the challenges of fighting constantly against bureaucracy at every step. I could have used all the time and energy spent on paperwork doing more for the groups. Nevertheless, I went on to

complete a final cycle of the research in a different setting, which will be discussed in the next chapter. With reflection on the design of the storytelling sessions in the intervention, combined with my observations and the participants' input, I decided to keep the overall structure, but I chose to adapt a number of elements, as will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter and in section 6.x of the next findings chapter.

The **eleventh and final finding** is regarding theoretical considerations of using CoP and critical pedagogies for intergenerational work. In connection with my previous finding, I misjudged the complexities of introducing notions of new practices to a community in which I was completely foreign. In this case, another characteristic of the cycle that I regarded as an opportunity that later became problematic was the existing intergenerational practice known to participants from their encounters at Making-Friends and their individual personal experiences. The implications of this dynamic were visible in the relationships between the older and younger adults. As was mentioned earlier, there was an existing dynamic between the older and the younger adults that was characteristic of their relations in Making-Friends. This pattern was mostly present in early sessions. I had not foreseen that the relational habits would permeate our encounters, so I had to often encourage the exchanges between the different age-groups.

The apparent lack of connection could also be seen in things like knowing each other's names. Even though all parties had met, as was evident in the number of times I attended their Making-Friends club, for our first meeting the older adults did not know the younger adults' names, and vice versa. For the second meeting after having shared stories with Shirley and Betty, Scarlett was unaware of Shirley and Betty's names, even though they all introduced themselves when presenting their drawings and stories. In the third meeting, Shirley mentioned 'the fostered kid', making clear that she did not know Scarlett's name. At the time I noticed and thought it was interesting, but I attributed the cause to forgetfulness. Finally, during the group interview with the younger adults, they reported not knowing the older adults' names. These instances put together invite further reflection on the nature of the relationships formed and to what extent the environment was ready for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP between participants of this cycle.

In the next section, I recapitulate the findings and offer an overview of the learning points that helped me adjust my design for the final cycle.

5.5 What I have learnt from this cycle to take into designing for the final cycle

In this chapter I have provided evidence for the eleven findings that I list below:

1. The prevalence of existing relationships and ways of relating influenced the formation of new intergenerational relationships.

2 As a result of the different life-experiences and personalities, tensions arise that warrant negotiation should participants wish to pursue a cordial intergenerational relationship.

3. There are difficulties in this process related to stereotypes and attitudes about the age-groups which need to be discussed so that the issues can be overcome and so the group can encourage critical engagement and learning.

4. It takes time and different approaches to develop new intergenerational relationships, and place-based storytelling is helpful to build rapport among generations.

5. Storytelling can be understood as a boundary object that brings together two (or more) CoP; it can be used to start a practice that defines a new Community of Practice.

6. Technologies as boundary objects have a role in helping the negotiation of meaning, and they can act as objects of negotiation in and of themselves. Using technology can help or hinder the intergenerational encounters and the storytelling practices, but more important than the technology is the task.

7. The importance of facilitating intergenerational activities. In combination with what technologies are used, mediation of exchanges and responsiveness is key to successful outcomes when running an intergenerational intervention.

8. Negotiating social identities. Considering participants' and researcher's background helps to design activities and build stronger relationships.

9. Technological considerations. Technology as a tool needs to be adapted to suit the purpose of the activities and there are different aspects that intervene, e.g. access, know-how, and reliability of the infrastructure.

10. Methodological considerations. Using AR with a participatory approach has a number of implications that need to be considered.

11. Theoretical considerations. There are conceptual guidelines that can help in designing an intergenerational place-based storytelling intervention for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP.

Before the cycle started, I had some assumptions based on my observations of the encounters during the Making-Friends club, but I had no deep understanding of the people who had just joined me for my study. My lack of knowledge about the school and participants' background resulted in my not having enough information to assess what I could expect from the school

and the people there. I only learned that the school was in a 'disadvantaged' area halfway through conducting my research. In general, not having enough background information added to the complexity of running AR with a participatory ethos.

In hindsight, it is possible to understand that place-based storytelling as a means to bring together people has been helpful. However, what probably was not as helpful was having a set of expectations of the HOW that place-based storytelling would take place. In the previous pages, I have explained in more detail what these expectations were and given nuance to them. Because I wanted to foster positive relationships between the different generations, I planned to facilitate a welcoming environment where participants could talk openly and honestly and get to know each other. Part of this process is bringing our individual selves with our own experiences, beliefs, etc., to a new arena. Before starting this cycle, I did not pay too much attention to the fact that participants '*knew*' each other from Making-Friends, as with Betty and Shirley, who had a close friendship, or the younger adults, who also had existing friendships. But there was also an established relationship between younger and older adults, and the roles of both parties were set. There were important elements that resembled the models for intergenerational practice in which there is a hierarchical relationship. I was looking at a model where either of the two groups offers a service as more 'capable' or 'savvy' than the other. Despite these difficulties, throughout this chapter I have shown how these roles shifted and changed and more reciprocal relationships were able to develop to some degree.

As a result of running this cycle, I incorporated my learning into adjusting my design of the intervention for the Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence cycle. Firstly, I had a better idea of how to present the objective to participants and communicate with them in general. The main change was that I decided to conduct the study in BECR, where I had established relationships with the management and the older adults who would participate in my study. Similarly, I invited younger adults that I already knew. In addition, I made sure that I arranged initial and final interviews as well as arranging the storytelling workshops. I kept the overall structure and format of the storytelling sessions. I noted that more flexibility was needed around technology, but also that my responsiveness was an integral part of my mediation. For the BECR cycle, I sought to show a small selection of technologies that were available for storytelling, but I still reminded and encouraged participants at every turn to consider other possibilities for sharing our stories. In the following chapter, I present the findings from the final cycle at BECR.

Chapter 6. Findings from the Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence cycle

Upon learning about the importance of collaboration with the institutions where I am conducting my study, I reconsidered the research site for this final cycle. I adapted my research design based on the outcomes of the previous cycle. The two key changes I focused on were regarding my participatory approach and responsiveness, which translated into being flexible around production of a digital story and the use of a range of technologies to encourage participants to explore new ways for sharing stories. In contrast to the previous cycle, in this new phase participants created digital stories and I had the wonderful privilege of witnessing the emergence of an intergenerational Community of Practice.

In this chapter, I present the BECR cycle, build on findings explored in the BSS cycle and present one new finding that arose from this new cycle. The first two sections are meant to be descriptive, and I start with a brief introduction of the younger and older adults who took part in this cycle. This section is followed by a summary of the workshops that took place at the Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence (BECR) cycle. I then present the findings, which are organised into the three themes (see Chapter 5) that correspond to my research questions:

- **Narrative and the community**: here, I present the run up to getting to know each other through the exchange of narratives.
- **Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters**: in this theme, I explore the intricacies of using different technologies in intergenerational settings and my role as a facilitator/researcher.
- **Challenges and opportunities**: In this section, I write about the difficulties that arose in this context within the intergenerational groups. Additionally, I highlight the conditions that enabled the research project to take place. These strengths and challenges are categorised into social, technological, methodological, and theoretical.

I finish this chapter with a summary of key findings and reflections and learnings from the final cycle at Bristol Extra Care Residence (BECR).

6.1 Setting the scene at Bristol-Extra-Care-Residence

Having decided to find new participants and change research site, as described in the previous chapter, I adapted my design of the intervention to take place in the premises of BECR. In this section I introduce the participants in this cycle and briefly provide a description of the storytelling workshops.

6.1.1 Meet the participants in the BECR cycle

BECR is a welcoming space for people from the community, bustling with activities including fairs, shows, and research, among other events. As an extra-care residence, BECR makes

every effort to support their residents' independent living. The staff and management go above and beyond to make this residence a thriving place, work which was recognised through an award that the residence was granted around the time I was beginning the final cycle of my research. Throughout my time there, the residents that I spoke with felt happy to live in such a special place. Nonetheless, during the initial interviews of this cycle, I got insight from the participants of my study who live there, and they expressed a more nuanced view of the place.

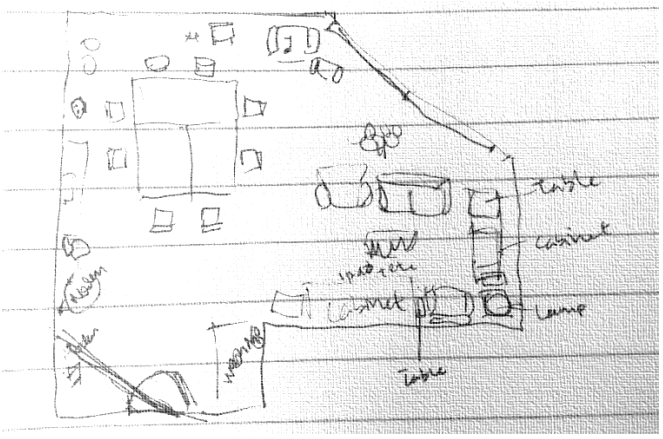


Figure 13. Sketch of the layout of the 'Memory Room' at BECR

Not long after I started volunteering at BECR, I became close to some of the residents who attended the computer support sessions on a regular basis in the 'Memory Room' (see Figure 13). I initially approached some of the residents to conduct the pilot cycle (see Section 4.5.1). Then I started the cycle at the Bristol-Secondary-School as was explained in the previous chapter. When the school cycle finished, I again sought participants at BECR as I had realised that having an established relationship with participants and the institution where the research took place was key for the success of the intervention. Their response to my request was positive.

In the computer support sessions at BECR, I had a few regulars; amongst them was Dan, Hazel and George*[3], who kindly offered to be in my study. Their biographic information (presented below) was obtained during the initial individual interviews, which helped me organise information about participants into useful profiles.

First, there was Dan, born in 1921 in Somerset. He came to live in Bristol in 1953, after spending part of his childhood in South Africa and coming back to grow up in the UK. He is most interested in joining all sorts of events and projects at BECR. He recognises that his age (96 at the time of running this cycle) and deafness make things slow, but those aspects do not deter him from being an active member of the community. He would often bring his laptop and

[3] All participants names have been redacted.

persevere through difficulties to fix whatever trouble would come his way. In having divorced parents, he grew up surrounded by different generations from his mother's family. He experienced country life amongst grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. He understood the experience I had when I was a child myself, in terms of spending time with different generations.

Another regular was Hazel, from Essex. She was nearing her 90th birthday at the time of our meetings for this cycle. Being the youngest child of her family, she did not have direct contact with elder relatives; however, in her youth she developed a close relationship with a couple of older neighbours with whom she felt at ease. She moved to Bristol in 1963 for a few years, but came again to the city in 1985 and stayed. Her relations at present include middle aged grandchildren and infant greatgrandchildren. Her relationship with them is close and dear to her. She also attended the computer support since day 1 and was always amiable. She had been part of a previous research project run by Helen (my supervisor) at BECR, which led Hazel to attend the computer support sessions I provided. I bonded with her early on and was always glad to meet her at least to say 'hi' when there was little extra time in between my computer support activities.

After Hazel had been attending regularly, George, her now late husband, was curious to see what we were doing, and gradually regained confidence to use their laptop. I said 'regained', because sadly, they were victims of a scam, and that experience made them hesitant to use computers for a while. He was still proceeding with caution, but he slowly brought himself to more confidence in sending emails and using internet. He was born in 1925 in Kent. He had always lived with his family and felt confident when chatting to anyone about anything. He described himself as a 'sociable, friendly chap' who would talk to people from different walks of life. He settled in Bristol with Hazel in 1985. He was willing to help me when the time came for me to run this cycle. He was 92 years old.

While I was recruiting older adults, I started to invite younger people who I knew would be interested in being in my study. I made this decision based on my experience in the previous cycle, where I struggled to get to know participants and build a trusting relationship with them, while conducting the study at the same time.

Mar, 27, readily accepted this invitation; she heard that I was that I was running my study through a mutual colleague. As a PhD candidate herself, she understood the difficulties of conducting research, and, as she was born in Colombia, she was also an international student. She arrived in Bristol in 2015. She rarely sees her grandparents, and their relationship is not close; further, at the time of starting this research there were no other older adults with whom she held a connection. However, she is very keen on using digital technology and can be

found using that technology unless she is hiking or doing something in nature. Otherwise, she likes the access and possibilities that her mobile phone and internet connection allow.

Macy, who was 28 years old, saw my request for research participants on my social media and contacted me to enquire. She was born in Devon. She had lived for five and a half years in Bristol when I conducted the initial interview. She had been involved with the Know Your Bristol project (see Chapter 2). Then, when I gave her the details of my study, she felt naturally inclined to accept my invitation, and signed up there and then. In our time together that followed, she often brought her working experience at heritage organisations and her interest in history. Her main experience with older adults stemmed from spending time with one of her grandmothers, however she is closer to her other grandparents who live further away and so they see each other less often. In terms of non-familial relationships with older people, she mainly engages with them through work, but she does not consider any of them more than a colleague or acquaintance. She would choose analogic options over digital whenever possible.

Finally, there was Hayley, who was 26 years old. Just before the first meeting, another volunteer dropped out last-minute, and so Hayley was recruited between the first and second sessions of the cycle. She put herself forward after she received an announcement via the University channels. Born in Birmingham, she moved to Bristol to do an MSc in Psychology at the School of Education. She was just finishing her MSc when she heard that I was conducting research that involved storytelling, technology, older adults, and young people. For two years, she had been dealing with the institutionalisation of her grandmother, who had dementia. Her grandfather was struggling to cope with the situation, and so Hayley would go visit him and see how he struggled with technology, particularly with his iPad. Hayley feels confident using technology but recognised that she would reach a point in time where she would no longer want to keep up with the technological advancements.

Most of the people taking part in this cycle had been known to me for over a year, apart from Hayley, whom I met when I recruited her for this specifical cycle of my research. Nevertheless, conducting the interviews with all the participants before the workshops started was a major contribution for my design because it made me aware of their expectations and experiences, and the space from in that interview conversation allowed me to communicate my experiences and expectations as well.

6.1.2 Adapting the storytelling workshops

There were five workshops in this cycle. In the following paragraphs, I briefly describe the activities, outcomes, and changes that occurred in each.

We started with our first workshop on September 5th, 2017. The primary objective for the first session was to explain the aims of the research for participants to understand what specifically I was trying to do with this study. Additionally, I had planned activities in this session for participants to introduce themselves and start building rapport within the group. This session was aimed at trialling combined approaches of object- and place-based stories. It was attended by Mar, Hazel, George and Dan. The imbalance between the groups was due to one young adult dropping out at the last minute, and Macy was stuck in traffic after an accident was blocking the motorway. This first meeting was designed to introduce older and younger participants to each other. After our ice-breaker activity, which involved stories about childhood toys, we shifted our conversation to place-based memories. I had requested during the initial interviews that participants brought along a photograph of a place in Bristol that was relevant for them. With this activity, I wanted to have participants talking in intergenerational pairs; however, with the imbalance between the groups, this was not possible and so I modified this activity for participants to share stories as a group. I asked participants to talk about the pictures they brought for everyone in the group.

For the second session, on September 13th, I was determined to be vigilant in fostering participation and trying my best in mediating the communications. However, as participants arrived I made my mind to be responsive and stop myself from 'forcing' things. I felt sudden optimism: I was confident that when the three younger and three older adults got together, the balance would occur rather naturally, which meant that I would not need to push things too hard and could instead prepare the environment. Part of the preparation of the environment included arranging the chairs so that participants would sit in mixed-aged pairs. Participants had been asked in advance of the meeting to choose a place to talk about in the workshop. This workshop was attended by everyone: Dan, Mar, Hazel, George, Hayley, and Macy. It was Hayley and Macy's first appearance in the sessions. On this occasion, participants were asked to group in an intergenerational pair and then as a group to locate our chosen places on a physical map and later in MyB.

Our third session ran on September 20th. Mar was unable to attend this workshop, but she offered to do the activities in her own time. I suggested that she look at the technologies we would be using. The main activity of this session was to work in intergenerational pairs and explore different technologies that have been used for digital storytelling: Tangible Memories and Bristol Stories (see Chapters 2&4).

On September 27th, we had our fourth workshop, which was attended by all participants. All participants were enthusiastic about creating digital stories. The task for the first half of the session was to revisit the technologies that we had used in the previous sessions and to

choose one platform to host our stories. The second half of this session was used to plan the content and presentation of the intergenerational stories.

We finished our research meetings on October 3rd. Participants gathered in the same intergenerational pairs that they had been working with during the previous session and finalised their stories. This time, Macy was held up in heavy traffic again. However, she wanted to share with the group a blog entry she had written which was related to Bristol's history. As we were eating cake to celebrate the culmination of this cycle, the £50 prize draw took place and Hazel was the lucky winner.

I met all participants individually to carry out a final interview which would help me better understand participants' experiences in my research. Being inspired by the enthusiasm I created a Tangible Memories book illustrating our encounters and a collection of the digital stories that were co-created by participants. I showed the printed book to participants when we all went to dinner together on account of Hazel's invitation. I also shared a digital version of this book with all participants.

Previously, after running the cycle at BSS, I decided to be more receptive and flexible. In the BSS cycle, I had expected that exchanging stories should lead to the creation of digital version of stories, which did not go as planned, as was explained in the previous chapter. I learned to be open to other possibilities. As a result, I made increased efforts to better communicate what I considered the research to be and worked to keep an open mind, instead of setting the course for the creation of digital stories. I repeatedly invited BECR cycle participants to think of my study as an opportunity to engage in conversation within intergenerational groups and share stories. In contrast with the BSS cycle, where emphasis was on the final product, for the BECR cycle, emphasis was on the process of creating stories together. In the following sections, I explain how changing my focus allowed a more organic engagement, and, during this cycle, not only did the digital stories emerge, but the relationships formed in the group were evidenced in that one of the participants also treated everyone in this cycle for an evening meal.

In the following sections, I provide more detail of the interactions during the sessions, which relate to the overarching themes.

6.2 The narrative and the community findings: Building rapport through critical dialogue, sharing, and co-creating place-based storytelling.

In this section, I explore the evolution of the intergenerational relationships through the process of sharing stories. The storytelling activities in this cycle seemed to run more smoothly

in comparison with the school cycle. The development of intergenerational relationships from the first meeting to the last one is more visible than it was at the school cycle. Here, I point out some of the similarities and differences between the cycles, but these will be addressed in more depth in the discussion (see Chapter 7). For now, I will give a detailed description of how the BECR cycle sessions looked, building on from the previous chapter and pulling out key findings that emerged from this cycle.

In this section, I revisit the findings 1-4 from section 5.2 in the previous chapter and 4.a will be fully fleshed out with data from BECR. Finding 1 is the prevalence of existing relationships and ways of relating that influenced the formation of new intergenerational relationships. The second finding is that as a result of the different life-experiences and personalities, tensions arise that warrant negotiation, should participants wish to pursue a cordial intergenerational relationship. The third finding is about the difficulties of this process, related to stereotypes and attitudes about the age-groups which need to be discussed so that the issues can be overcome, in order to encourage critical engagement and learning. The fourth finding is that it takes time to develop new intergenerational relationships in different ways, and place-based storytelling is helpful to build rapport among generations. Finding 4.a indicates that co-creating digital stories is also a helpful way to encourage relationship-building across generations, and co-creating invites more involvement and negotiation, resulting in a shorter process of relationship-building and stronger connections.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, developing an intergenerational relationship takes time (Priestly & Hayes, 2003). In this instance, a key factor that played in my favour was my existing relationship with participants; later in the chapter (section 6.3), I will address the implications of my role in the study. Here, I want to draw attention to the intergenerational understandings that I knew existed (from my experience and literature) and that informed my design. Thus, building on prevalent, existing models of intergenerational exchange, I was able to model our own intergenerational practice through the activities in our storytelling workshops.

After running the school research cycle, I refined the design of the intervention so that the older and the younger adults could spend more time talking in intergenerational groups. As I was beginning this cycle, I considered that the stories that we were going to share during the workshops would offer an opportunity for conversation, which could – but would not necessarily – end up in a digital story. With this in mind, I arranged the workshops so that we had different opportunities to develop personal connections. In this case, participants met for the first time at our research sessions, but all of them had an existing relationship with me, apart from Hayley. We had known each other over a year. I thought that if participants had freedom to decide whether or not to do a final digital story, they could spend more time talking

and getting to know one another, and the burden of expectation to produce a digital story would be taken away; my relationship with participants allowed me to understand how to foster their intergenerational connections. This 'insider' knowledge was instrumental for my AR inquiry (Krimerman, 2001). In the following vignette this evolution is illustrated.

Storytelling at BECR sharing and co-creating

I began the activities at our first workshop by suggesting 'games' as the topic for an ice breaker. I learned from younger participants in the previous cycle and the pilot that this topic was of potential interest. While they engaged with the topic, I was paying attention to the group dynamics and the flow of the conversation. Everyone had enough time to speak about their childhood games in this initial intergenerational group.

Dan was talking about the spinning top and made a comment about how girls and boys alike would play. However, the way in which he spoke caused a reaction from Hazel and Mar, who glanced at him and then me with a disapproving look. Hazel mouthed 'even the girls' after Dan had uttered that phrase. I was shaken by those words but said nothing, thinking how far these 'gendered' behaviours would go. I wondered if I was supposed to intervene there. After all, this kind of remark had an impact on the interaction. I reasoned that there are clear generational differences regarding serious topics like sexism and racism, but I thought he meant well and I just made a mental note without saying anything at the time.

After that first task, we were sharing memories of our favourite places in Bristol, using a photograph as a prompt. I had planned to do activities having three intergenerational pairs, but it was not possible since there were three older adults, Dan, Hazel and George, and just one younger adult, Mar. Dan mentioned that he could have brought a picture that was personal, but he thought it would not suit the purpose of the session. Hazel made a remark that this would have been memorable to him. George asked Mar about the picture she had printed. She explained that the picture she had brought was taken around the time she arrived in Bristol (see Figure 14)*. She used to live in University accommodation in the City Centre and the view from her bedroom window one day had captivated her eye, with the sight of numerous hot air balloons filling the sky. Hazel asked where Mar was living when Mar took the photo. She requested details, trying to find out a more precise location, as Mar had said it was in the city centre and referenced the Hippodrome. George looked at Mar's picture. The piece of paper (A4 sized) was passed around for everyone to see, although Dan had to squint and put the piece of paper close to his face. Mar started going through the details that surrounded her photo and mentioned that once she was on a Skype call with her parents and she showed them her view from the window. Hazel showed the picture to Dan and pointed at the towers that were visible from the picture, asking whether he was able to recognise the buildings. Dan*

asked where the photo was taken. Hazel said in the city centre, but she was not sure where exactly. I explained it was behind the Hippodrome. Mar confirmed what I said and proceeded to stand up and suggest she could show in the map on the wall where this happened. She stood next to the wall and pointed somewhere between the Cathedral and Cabot tower. Then she came back to the table to find in the picture the towers that she just had shown in the map.

Figure 14. Mar's view of hot air balloons

I noted that Mar's picture elicited interest. I remember seeing the picture myself and trying to do the exact same thing Hazel did: figure out where that was taken. I thought maybe I had been there. I started to see connections through the stories to relate to the places we all know.

Hazel said her object was related to the Cathedral. As she was starting to talk about the wedding invitation she had brought (see Figure 15)*, Mar went back to her seat. George began telling his own story to Mar about the pictures he was showing her in his digital camera. Hazel, unsure if she should stop and let George talk, looked at me. Dan and I were looking at her expectantly and she realised we wanted her to continue speaking to us. Therefore, two conversations took place: Mar and George's conversation about George's photos, and Hazel and Dan's separate conversation. For this occasion, I interacted with Dan and Hazel. I guess, in this way, there was some sort of continuity between that first session and the remaining workshops when I requested that participants work in intergenerational pairs.*

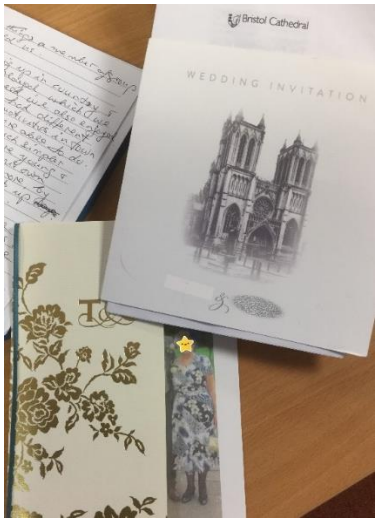


Figure 15. Hazel's wedding invitation and photographs

From time to time, Hazel would look over her shoulder towards George with a look that seemed to disapprove of George talking. I asked her a couple of questions about her story and she regained focus on our conversation. I noticed that Hazel, George, and Dan were looking at each other and me from time to time, as if looking for approval. At the end of this session Hazel had a quick word with me. She felt that George was talking too much and too loudly. She advised that I intervene and moderate his input.

The second workshop was spent sharing stories about our favourite places in Bristol, first making use of a physical map to locate the places and then using Map your Bristol to explore that area. In this session, Mar was helping me to bring the chairs around the table. She remembered that before we started this cycle, I made a comment about finding comfortable chairs for Hazel, Dan, and George, a request that was later confirmed during session 1 when Hazel and George expressed their preference for chairs with arms. Mar went looking for those chairs. As participants arrived, I requested that they sat next to somebody from a different age-group.

When all participants had sat, I did a recap of the previous session and asked Hayley and Macy to introduce themselves. Macy began. She had lived in Bristol nearly for six years. She came here to study and had not left since. Everyone else nodded with a smile. She mentioned that she has worked at the National Trust and The Matthew since she finished school. When Macy finished her introduction, Hayley said she was from Birmingham even if her accent did not sound like it. Everyone laughed. Hayley assured them that this was true. George was about to start challenging that, but Hazel stopped him on the spot and asked him to be quiet. Hayley went on about her moving to Leeds, then London and now having lived in Bristol for about a year. She said she was looking for a job. Hazel made a remark about both Hayley and

Macy falling in love with Bristol and mentioned how she, Mar, and I had a similar feeling about the city, which we had discussed in the previous session.

For the activity about our favourite places, Mar was sitting next to Dan and Hayley sat close to George. I noticed that Macy had chosen a seat apart from everyone else, so I asked Macy to sit closer to Hazel. The conversations soon emerged. Hazel and Macy went to the map on the wall to find the places they were talking about. Dan was telling Hayley a story about a place he visited where he got lost which enticed Hayley's curiosity to the point of her wanting to pay a visit to that very place. George was starting to delve into his life before coming to Bristol. Their interactions looked almost balanced, so I did not need to intervene. After each participant had spoken in their pairs about their favourite places, I asked them to share their partner's stories with the group. Mar started sharing her story and then George's. He continued his story and brought Hazel into the conversation. He was about to start a long detour and Hazel suggested he kept the version short. I thanked him and continued with Hayley, who shared Dan's story at Blaise Castle. Hazel and Macy briefly shared their own memories about Blaise Castle and Cabot Tower after Dan and Hayley mentioned those places. George asked if we knew about Blaise Hamlet and upon hearing Hayley's negative response, he suggested that she made a note about it. We learnt from Macy about her fascination with Leonard's Lane, which is a hidden gem for art enthusiasts located in the city centre. Then we heard about Hazel's love for the Downs. I was pleased to see that the prompts given for these conversations had been a topic of interest for everyone. Later, I suggested participants look at the Map your Bristol tool, which also sparked lively conversation.

For session 3, Mar was unable to attend, but she asked what activities we would be doing and if there was a way in which she could keep up. I sent her the link to the Bristol stories website and a couple of pictures from the Tangible Memories books. In this third session, we were looking at other ways in which people have used technology to share their own stories in a public and a private way. We looked at short digital video stories from the Bristol Stories website. After that, we looked at books that were produced at BECR using Tangible Memories. Since Mar could not attend this session, I asked Hayley to work with Dan and George. She made a remark on being unsure whether she could handle both at once. Hazel worked with Macy.

Mar was eager to know more about Hazel's life after she read snippets of Hazel's book. She requested to work with Hazel in our following session. I told her it was okay with me as long as Hazel said yes. Mar sat next to Hazel and said she wanted to be with her for that day, Hazel laughed in surprise and said she was happy to do so. Macy was feeling unwell because she had caught a bad cold. She sat at the opposite end of the table from Dan. I offered her a cup

of ginger and lemon tea. I boiled the kettle. Hayley came in soaking wet because of the rain. She sat next to George. Seeing as Mar and Hazel were together, and Hayley had sat next to George, I asked Macy to sit with Dan. It did not occur to me at the time to suggest a different arrangement for the final stories when the first half of the session finished, which meant that the pairs had been set for the co-creation of digital stories: Hazel and Mar, George and Hayley, and Dan and Macy.

On the fourth day, I noticed participants' conversations flowed easily and they wanted to carry on sharing their stories. Time went by rather quickly, and I almost felt bad to interrupt them. I was thinking of how they came metaphorically closer. I wondered whether their proximity could be seen somehow. After this session, I looked at the pictures of session 2 and contrasted them with photos of session 4. When compared to the pictures of the second day, I could see the physical distance between them shifting, too (see Figure 16).

Figure 16. Participants on session 2 (left) and participants on session 4 (right)

During the individual interviews, all participants asserted that being part of the study brought them together. Not long after our meeting for her final interview, Hazel contacted me to invite everyone for an evening meal.

***

In the vignette above, I have provided further evidence primarily in support of findings 1 and 4, which I have started outlining in Section 5.2 of the previous chapter. The storytelling activities in this cycle unfolded in a smoother fashion compared to the school cycle. I give some credit for this to my endeavour to be open and responsive to the dynamics of the group as part of the reflection and action stages of my Action Research (AR) design (Somekh, 2006).

The **first finding**, which is concerned with the prevalence of existing understandings of age, relationships and stereotypes, had a different influence on how intergenerational activities unfolded that what was evident from the school cycle. As has been explained earlier, from the

interviews I gathered participants' perceptions of age-groups and experiences with intergenerational exchanges in advance of the storytelling workshops. I learned that Hazel, Mar, Dan, and George's intergenerational experience as children were close to the stereotypical 'respect your elders' model (Berman et al., 2007). In contrast, Hazel, Dan, and George had noted a shift in these relational tendencies. As they grew older, they encountered younger people were more 'forward' and treated them like equals, which was caused conflict at times, but meant that young people were generally viewed in a positive light. Hayley and Macy mentioned that their views of older adults corresponded in a certain degree to the stereotypical portrayals of older aged people in the mainstream media (Cohen, 2002; Williams & Giles, 1991). However, they balanced these views with their personal experience of intergenerational relationships they have. I will discuss the interplay of these aspects in more detail in forthcoming sections as they relate to finding 8, where I deal with the negotiation of identities. With this information about their varied experiences and perceptions, I was able to set a stronger foundation for our intergenerational practice. In being aware of the participants' perceptions and experiences with intergenerational relationships, I assumed that I would be prepared to mediate the interactions. I return to discussions of my role as facilitator/broker later in the chapter.

In the vignette above, I offered some evidence for **finding 2,** which dealt with tensions, and **finding 3**, which was related to negotiations and critical dialogue to discuss stereotypes. Between the first meeting and the second, I was looking forward to having all three young people to join the following session. I was hopeful that would even things out and provide equal numbers for each age group. I wondered if that was what Hazel meant when she approached me as she was leaving the first day to give me advice on managing George's interaction. At least I knew that her desire for balanced interaction was why she kept looking disapprovingly at him and then to me to give a sign for me to intervene. I thought it was helpful that she was on board with my idea of more balanced interactions and that she pointed George's domination of the conversation so that I was aware of his disposition to speak for a prolonged period. Tensions are visible in the response that George's interventions received from Hazel who tried reminding him to give time for others to speak; also, there is a subtle hint of the way Hayley engaged in conversation with him whenever he suggested young participants ignored information he did have, for example when he brought Blaise Hamlet to the conversation (tensions between Hayley and George are explored in more depth in forthcoming sections).

Also, in the vignette, it is possible to look into the development of intergenerational relationships which are the subject of finding 4. Since the first day, I realised that sharing stories about Bristol was engaging for participants (Bazley & Graham, 2012). Having the city

as a starting point, younger and older participants connected with each other, and once they started chatting, they were eager to keep the conversations as the sessions went on. I noted Mar's interest in helping me create a welcoming environment for the older adults when she remembered which type of chairs they preferred. Maybe it was a minor point, but I regarded it as highly important: a gesture of care.

In **finding 4**, I observed that participants found connections through sharing stories about places they all knew. But, equally, they gained insight into a participant's experience when he or she shared with them places and experiences that others had not known before then. They all asserted in the final interviews that having Bristol as an underlying theme for our stories made the process of getting to know each other easier: it provided a platform and a focus, but at the same time, it was a flexible and inspiring subject. These ideas will be further explored in the discussion chapter.

Thus, from the BECR cycle, the new **finding 4.a** is about bonding through co-creating stories. There were four stories created by participants using different technologies. I had expected that they would organically arrange themselves in pairs so the stories could emerge from working together, either by supporting each other's stories or creating one each. The co-creation activity sparked joy in participants (Heydon, 2007) and was by far the most rewarding experience from the workshops. It was more effective to connect with each other when participants were creating something together (Cucinelli et al., 2018). All participants expressed this sentiment; Hayley spelled out clearly in our final interview:

> *I think we had more fun creating the story… I liked reading through the stories, but I think I was also trying quite hard to be engaging then. To cover times where I noticed that I was putting effort into kind of keeping the conversation going. Whereas when we were creating the story, I really felt like it was just two people having fun, like writing something down... So, in that way I did notice the difference... when… I guess that worked. Me and George...you know? Me and George worked well together. I don't know how that would have played out if had worked with the other two... I don't know.*
>
> *Hayley's follow up interview, 2017.*

There were different levels of negotiation going on between the pairs for them to create their stories. Mar and Hazel chose to work together, talking about their first impressions of Bristol. On the fourth session, they started planning what they wanted to say about the first time they visited Bristol. During this session, they decided to use Tangible Memories. I was interested in the fact that they have chosen something relating to their personal experience. Later during

our final interview, Hazel told me that they chose this route because this story was meaningful for her.

> *D: What things did you consider when you decided "first visit to Bristol, and I'll put it with a picture of the city Council and do it with Tangible Memories?"*
>
> *Hazel: I think it was because it was my first impression of Bristol, my first visit and because it was going to affect my future, whether I was going to enjoy living here and how it would affect us as a family coming here. Because my son was 13 at the time. And it was a big time to change schools and it meant quite a lot to our future. how we saw this big city and how we would fit in and enjoy living here. So, to me, it was my first impression... I think that's why. [*Hazel's follow up interview, 2017]

On the other hand, Mar was inspired by the materials that they looked at, and she gained confidence in seeing 'regular' people's stories being shared. So, when the opportunity came for her to be creating her own story, she felt content with that idea and carried it out.

> *Mar: Well, I felt my stories were not too different from the ones we were looking at. Of course, I'm not like a historical character of Bristol, but... but, some stories were like... "I don't know who... slept here" so it was like... ok. I sleep too. This could be me, but in like 3000 years maybe. huh... I think it was challenging. Because I was very conscious about the need to give a context, but also to keep it concise. because otherwise I'd get people sleeping. So, it was challenging, but it was also good, I think it was reflective. It made me reflect about my life and my decisions… at the beginning, Hazel proposed to have a... to tell the story about how we got into Bristol. So, we decided to divide it into three stages if you want. so, it was a bit of context why we decided to come to Bristol. Then what were our first impressions. And then what we did. What were our daily activities while in Bristol.*
>
> *Mar's follow up interview, 2017.*

In the case of Hazel and Mar, working on their stories together meant that they reflected on their own individual lives as they were negotiating the content of their co-created stories (Parekh, 2008).

Macy and Dan had discussed creating stories with facts about Bristol: they would create one each. Sadly, on the final session, another traffic incident prevented Macy from getting to Bristol. Nevertheless, she commented during the interview how the brief planning experience they had during the fourth session made an impact on her when I asked her about the things that she took away from being in the study:

Macy: And the other one was when we actually started writi... doing the stories...sort of saying what it was about. that was the. When we got talking to each other, rather than referring back to anything... that was a really good conversation... to have done the groundwork and done... to have both written things. which I actually I think were fairly. Had quite a lot of similarities, and after we talked and went "oh, we both chose quite similar things in several ways!" and it was really nice... So yeah, I preferred the ones where I was more of the active participant in it, whereas the others were about looking more into other people's stories. while those two were the ones that really kind of we were talking about ourselves.

Macy's follow up interview, 2017

From Macy's response, I observed how the co-creation of stories was an opportunity to find commonalities (Lenette, 2017; Lindvig, 2017). Dan and Macy did not manage to work together in the digitisation of their stories, but they did produce a story of their own.

Overall, co-creation of place-based (Altmant & Zube, 1989) stories in this context provided participants a space for creating connections (Davis, 2011; Meimaris, 2017), engaging in introspection (Gearty et al., 2015), and seeing the world through a different perspective (Gaggioli et al., 2014; Heydon, 2007).

Throughout this cycle I emphasised the importance of the exchanges between participants over the final product, by suggesting the co-creation of a final digital story only as a way of giving some structure to our workshops. In this scenario, participants had a clearer idea of the purpose of the study. Participants went through a process that led to wanting to create something together, particularly after being inspired by looking at other people's stories. In this subsection, I have explored the process of making participants' digital stories, what the stories are, and how the making of those serves to strengthen communication between generations. In the end, they decided to exchange stories and find one story they could use to digitise, which I used as well to illustrate a book I made about the whole process. The technological detail and finished stories will be presented in forthcoming sections.

The negotiation that occurred as participants were getting ready the story, along with the resources they needed to present the story, reflected the kind of relationship they developed with their partners for the activity. The kind of story that was selected and how it was presented was a subtle reflection of the people behind the story. This was also impacted by the resources available, and perhaps if participants had more time to develop their materials, they could have done things differently: choosing a platform, the materials, and the content of the story.

In the following section, I discuss technology and my role as a facilitator/broker.

6.3 Technologies and mediation of intergenerational encounters findings

In this section, I revisit findings 5, 6, and 7 as I explore what occurred when I tried to use a range of digital and non-digital technologies with the group to share and co-create stories. In this cycle, finding 5, 6, and 7 are closely knitted, and thus I try to unpack from the data the different strands that correspond to each of these findings.

The **fifth finding** is about storytelling being understood as a boundary object that brings together two (or more) CoP and which can be used to start a practice that defines a new Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998). The sixth finding is about the role of technologies both as boundary objects that help in the negotiation of meaning and as objects of negotiation in and of themselves. Using technology can help or hinder intergenerational encounters (Hardill, 2015) and storytelling practices, but more important than the technology is the task. The seventh finding is regarding the importance of facilitating intergenerational activities. In combination with what technologies are used, mediation of exchanges and responsiveness are key to successful outcomes when running an intergenerational intervention (Bradford & Cullen, 2011).

Finding 6, discussed in the previous chapter, indicates that technologies were part of the process of sharing stories. Using technologies to aid the storytelling (to provide more information about the story) resulted in a more compelling final product for both the onlooker and the teller of the stories. In any case, compared to those in BSS cycle, participants in this cycle reacted differently to technologies, and digital technologies in particular. So, participants had enough freedom to think of something that they could use for themselves, and some inspiration to know there were other ways of sharing our stories.

In session 2, I noted that participants seemed to like the activities with maps. The third session was not particularly intended for sharing our own stories. However, while the group with Dan, George, and Hayley waited for the websites to load, Dan and George (but mainly Dan) spent some time speaking about their own personal stories. I was not expecting the technology to fail, but I was pleased to see that the group took this failure of the technology as an opportunity to engage in conversation. Similarly, Macy and Hazel fell into conversation when both commented that the wi-fi was not working. At the fourth workshop, the first half of the session was used to revisit the software that participants felt could be of interest to them so that they could decide which software to use for their own stories. The second part was designed for participants to brainstorm ideas for creating their own stories, which potentially entailed some storytelling to find what it was they wanted to create.

In the previous cycle, I had intended to use a specific technology (MyB) as the centre of our interactions. However, as things turned out, I found that it was better to be more open-minded about what technologies were used. This time, I tried to bring suggestions during our meetings so that participants could try out different technologies and get some inspiration if they decided to create something of their own in the end. Participants perceived this effort from different points of view. For example, Macy saw the technological assets in a nuanced way:

> *D: What do you think about the different technologies that we tried?*
>
> *Macy: I've liked them all in different ways. I really liked the physical map, 'cos I really like physical sort of things, and to move around it, and it's quite easy to use. the like sort of "Know Your Place" kind of map, that was... I think that is really reeeally interesting, but it does still imp...[pauses] it was more impersonal. Even if you look at this more sort of personal sections may be not relevant to you, potentially. and just kind of, again, only if you were looking for something in particular, it was kind of an aimless task, almost. 'cos it was... kind of "we could look at that or look at those" and found it... we actually were looking at it but weren't looking for something specific... I did really like the videos... [Bristol Stories] just talking about the everyday sort of "this is my journey to work on the bus" and that was kind of asking ... I sort of forget that people get the same kind of experience every day and it's like. there were obviously other more... something quite sad, sort of stories, and I really liked the length of them, a brief snapshot… they were sort of really touching. again, there was just a sort of... so many of them! we didn't really know where to start...really and what kind of... what you're looking for. maybe we were presented to such a lot in one go and it was a little bit daunting. … The one with the book [Tangible Memories] I really liked the idea of it. But I couldn't get it to work at all when we did it. That was when it didn't work. and. so yeah. I really liked the idea behind it. I always sort of look for the physical book, which is great. but it didn't work... huh... I like the idea of having that and do more if you wanted to, but I felt like I had to read it and then do it... whereas if you wanted to read them all without going to the video and stuff... I'm not necessarily big on video things like all the time... I just like to read things. So, yeah. but I liked the option that you could do it. and I also much prefer them to videos, 'cos I like them sometimes, but more often I'd just rather read."*
>
> *Macy's follow up interview, 2017*

From Macy's response, I highlight four aspects. The first one is the preference she expresses for non-digital technologies, which is contrary to the expectation that young adults would be more likely to use and prioritise digital technology over non-digital technology (Valentine,

2015). My second observation is about the connections that Macy made about the people creating stories, for example Bristol Stories, which inspired her to connect with the storytellers. I can note Macy's frustration with technological shortcomings, e.g. the software not responding as expected. Finally, Macy expressed that technology provided an extra element to the process of storytelling; the map in particular was an added element, since this was a place-based storytelling initiative. Macy's sentiment resonated with the other participants who perceived the technologies to be useful for sharing stories, if and when those technologies were up and running. Hazel further commented on the benefits of using technologies to make the conversations richer.

> *Hazel: Yes, it was good. It was good to go through, point out various places of interest and what they mean to each of us and, and find ones, find our way around looking for certain places and things, buildings or whatever. Yes, it was good. We thoroughly enjoyed doing that together, I think that worked quite well, the map... looking on the map … personally I found it easier on the big table map.*
>
> *Hazel's follow up interview, 2017.*

As can be observed from these interview excerpts, there was overall positive reception for technology. The use of technology was not, however, free from obstacles, like the problems of bad internet connection. Other difficulties regarding the technological tools, including accessibility and confidence in using technology, will be explored towards the end of this chapter.

In terms of the **sixth finding** around technology as a boundary objects that help in the negotiation of meaning and also function as object of negotiation themselves, both Macy and Mar in the final interview reflected on how looking at other's stories inspired them to be sharing stories of their own. Macy further expressed how through talking about the stories they saw on the Bristol Stories website, she felt that there was something of a connection with those strangers that poured their lives and interests in these videos (Alheit et al., 2007).

As the stories were shared, participants got inspiration to create something of their own using different technologies. Below, I explore the co-creation of stories using different technological resources.

Mar and Hazel's 'Falling at first sight with Bristol' @Tangible Memories

Mar and Hazel decided to create a story about their first impressions of Bristol as they arrived in the city. They used the app Tangible Memories in their iPads (see Figure 17).

Figure 17. Mar and Hazel discussing their digital stories (left) Hazel and Mar digitising their story using Tangible Memories (right)

In our final interview, I asked Mar and Hazel about the process of co-creating their story. Mar wanted to be helpful and support Hazel with the creation of the story without taking over, while Hazel strived to do a story that both were happy with. As illustrated in the following excerpts from our interview, Mar talked about how design and presentation where crucial in the making of the story, bringing up the topics of background noise and imagery used.

> *Mar: We decided it would be cool to use the app, 'cos then we could associate pictures... so then, I was thinking on those stages and then went through pictures that I would like to represent... those stages of the story. So, I just went through my old pictures and picked some. And then we made a script, and so we started the script during the session, but the session was not long enough. So, I kept writing it and then we decided to meet. Not in the Memory Room, but in the cafeteria so we could record ourselves without that much noise … Hazel's story is short enough for one picture and she didn't bring more pictures 'cos she couldn't find any more. So, she brought this newspaper... clipping. But it was hard for me to take a picture of it, so what we did was to look online, and we found this one of the City Council. Because that was her first impression of Bristol: that building, and the fountain that was working. So, it was important to find a photo of that building from that angle and with the fountain working. so, this one [the second image used in their digital story] I took it. So that was one of my favourite places when I first arrived to Bristol, my hotel was really nearby so I used to go back to my hotel and go for a walk around the harbourside to just see this spot and take pictures to show my family. and watch the sunset.*
>
> *Mar's follow up interview*

From Mar's excerpt, I want to bring attention to the negotiation of meaning (Wenger, 1998) with the practice of place-based storytelling, and, in this case, creating the story together, and building an intergenerational relationship in the process (see Figure 18). From her point of view, choosing the technology was a decision reached through consensus and responding to their storytelling needs, whereas for Hazel, having experience with Tangible Memories was what encouraged her to use this app for their digital story. However, she still expressed some reluctance to be heavily involved in the use of technology, as illustrated in an excerpt from her follow up interview:

> *Hazel: Yes, it was helpful. but I had to rely on her to find… I wasn't quite so confident with using the iPad. I was rather leaving that side of things to her, but when she found what we were looking for that was great. and I thought "Oh, this is good! this is really useful!" but I must admit it was more with her, knowledge of the computer system, rather than mine, you know?*
>
> *Hazel's follow up interview*

Figure 18. Hazel and Mar´s digital story using Tangible Memories app: the shell-shaped icons indicate audio recordings attached to the images.

Having provided computer support regularly at BECR and assisting Hazel with her iPad, I was expecting that she might show more confidence. It was interesting to see that despite her experience with technology, she opted out of using it when possible (Hardill, 2015). I also noted that having the know-how and determination that emerged from working together, Mar and Hazel found ways to resolve issues, for example not having the photo that Hazel wanted to use in the desired format. Both of them were delighted with the end product and recognised that it was useful to have their digital stories. Mar, who did not know Tangible Memories before the research project, shared their creation with her family, as per agreement with Hazel.

George and Hayley's 'Flower Lady' @Map your Bristol

In the case of Hayley and George, they opted for creating a story with Map your Bristol in the fourth session when I asked them to start discussing their own stories. George began to tell Hayley his stories while she was drawing (see Figure 19). George was recalling the details of his stories and Hayley seem to enjoy it.

Figure 19. Hayley drawing George's stories (left) George telling story for Map your Bristol digitised by Hayley(right)

In her account, Hayley had a clear preference for one tool: Map your Bristol, and she explained the practicalities of her choice.

> *Hayley: Actually, I did like going into Map your Bristol. I'm sorry that's the one I keep talking about. The iPad, I just found it really difficult. and it's… maybe that's because I struggle with my own grandad on the iPad. I just find it's not easy to use for an older person. So, holding it, and being able to use it at the same time. Often their thumb is touching it and they can't press the buttons, you know... and you just press an app and it all disappears... It's just frustrating for both of us. uhm. Whereas a laptop, I thought we could both engage in it at the same time. like joint attention on the screen, whereas an iPad was a bit like fumbly. and also, I liked the easy, the few steps to doing the map. So, it was literally just: choose a picture, write the story, press enter. And choose on the map. Whereas the iPad one felt there was many more steps, more to go wrong! … quite risky for us in that way. So, I wanted to ... for me it was important to have some kind of finished product. You know? I wanted to have something. I felt like we were going to get there quicker and easier with the map thing. Again, George left all of it up to me, he was unable to make decisions on this, which was cool: choosing, and then he was talking.*
>
> *Hayley's follow up interview, 2017*

Hayley's approach to choosing technology was in response to what seemed to be the easiest option to create a final product, which was deemed important by her. In the process of creating a story together, she suggested that George provide the story while she was in charge of digitising it. George confirmed that he was telling all sorts of stories, personal and 'historical', and it was Hayley who chose the story they ended up uploading to MyB (see Figure 20). He recognised that technologies are useful (Lee & Wang, 2020; van Dijk & Hacker, 2003)

> *George: The computer was useful when she [the computer] did things I couldn't find. They're alright [technologies] if you're good at them. You see, they're quicker when you know. They're most useful when people know how to do it. Information shows quicker. But yes, I was happy to tell the story of that lady, although I've looked her up and I'm afraid there were inaccuracies I gave Hayley, who I tried to email, but not sure if I was successful. Please tell her that the name of the lady is Emma Saunders, 'cos I had told her it was Mary… I think she [Hayley] was fond of that story, I just don't know why. But she was happy to type it as I was telling her the story.*
>
> *George's follow up interview*

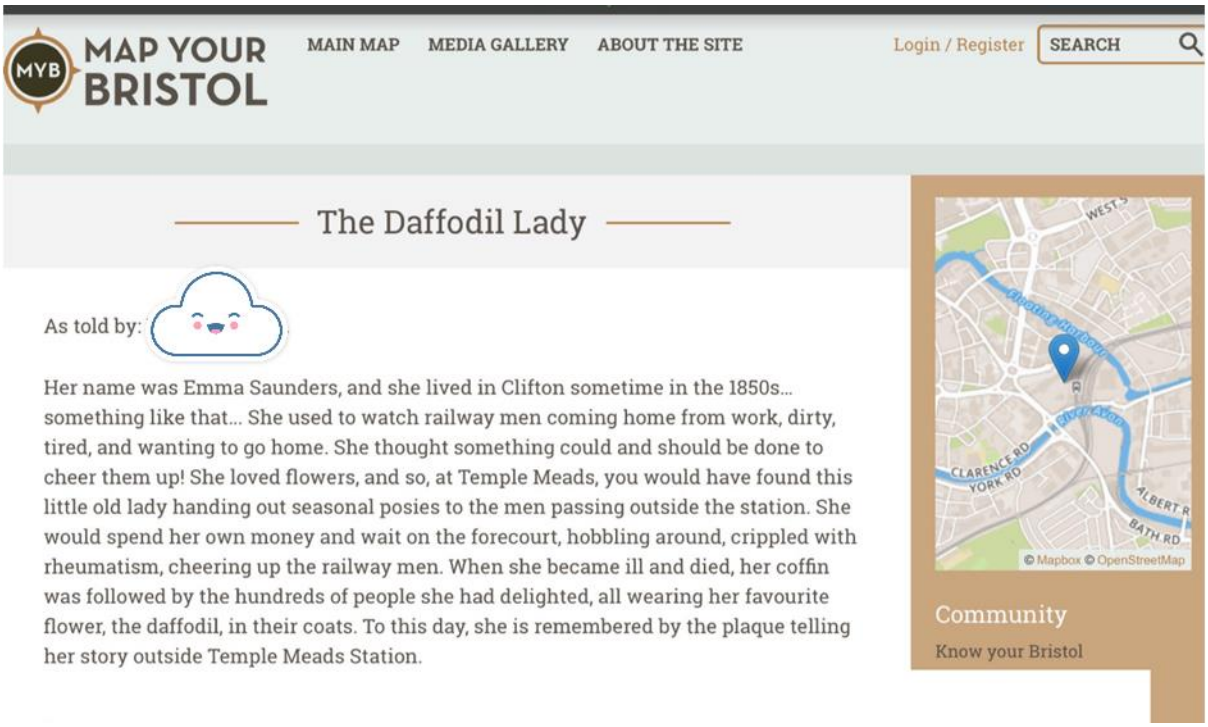


Figure 20. Haley and George's 'Flower Lady'

I noticed that George's and Hayley's understandings of technology and the stories were different in various aspects, but for the sake of materialising, or rather 'digitising' the story, it did not matter, and both of them had a positive experience of the co-creation process.

Macy: Bristol's time @ Personal blog

Macy could not attend the final session in which we were digitising our stories. Nevertheless, she shared an entry from her blog (see Figure 21). I investigated further about her story in our final interview.

> *Macy: For me, personally, partly it was a time thing. Huh...'cos I've been really flat out. And I knew there was something I've written not a long while ago. And that's something I still really like. So, part of it was time thing… I've written lots of things like that... but the reason why I chose that one specifically. It was kind of, that was an edit of the first one that I've written, which is something that I think is a really interesting story that's the reason. Why I chose that one. yes, the format was mainly a speed thing. But I don't know that I'd done it much differently anyway. Potentially would've done a bit more video on it if I had more time, but I quite like writing, I think I probably would've done exactly the same thing anyway. Just some photos and some facts. Little of... just put the fairly basic. huh. I chose that one 'cos I think it's really catchy. I think it's a really interesting period, there's lots happening in the kind of. There's big change of the society. And the thing with the clock is that it's a sort of gateway into quite a few different stories. You kind of got where it is positioned, on what would've been a busy sort of thoroughfare, with all these kind of dealings happening, and discussing politics on the trade and you sort of imagine the people doing that and all the sort of various characters that might be doing that. huh. And then in a bigger, more sort of abstract scale, that kind of ... very much changing from a sort of medieval society to actual working steel of our modern society. So, I think, that's kind of two reasons: one for the kind of... sort of people you can imagine actually doing it. and two, is a sort of… capture a moment of change. And I just thought it was a really interesting little fact, as well. It's got a few different levels of interest.*
>
> *Macy's follow up interview*

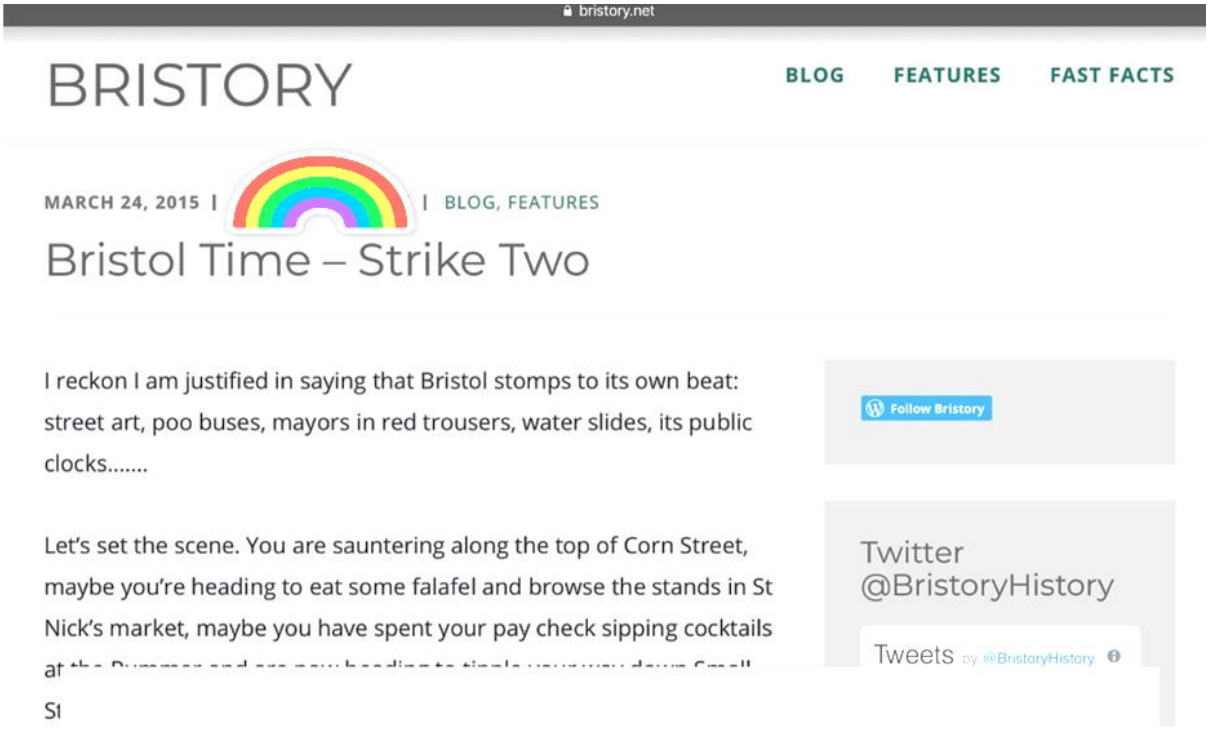


Figure 21. Macy's blog about the two-minute-hands clock

Macy's motivations for doing the story the way she did derived mainly from practicalities, having enough time, and finding something that interested her and that she considered valuable to share with others. Even though she was not physically present in the final session, she shared her blog via email with the rest of the participants so they could read it too.

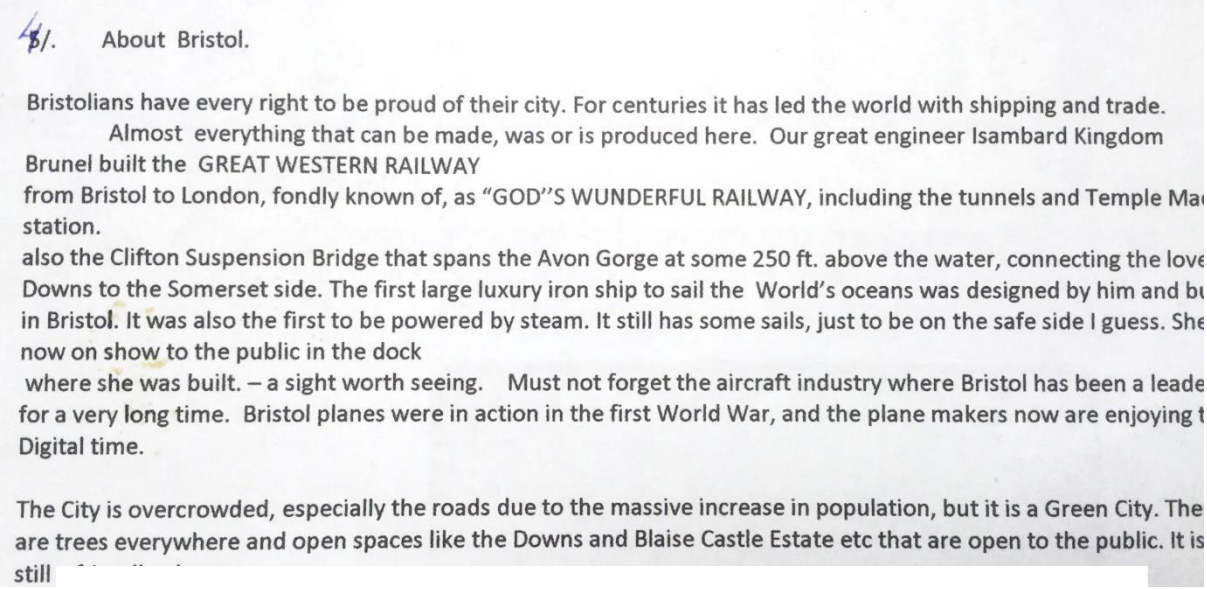
Dan: About Bristol @ Word

Dan also produced a story of his own. In his short story, he talked about the things he considered important of Bristol (see Figure 22). Before he settled on that narrative, he had planned to talk about one of his friends.

> *Dan: Oh! Well, sadly he died. But well... Didn't I give you a? I've written something about that somewhere. I think the University people have it. He was most interesting a man… he was a miner... people tended to look down on people like miners. They were dirty, all covered in dirt and dust...but believe me.. miners were marvellous people! I don't know how they survived… they worked in there 12 hours a day. This fellow was amazing. He was actually an engineer. But because his work was permanently down the mine, he was classified as a miner. and you know, the funny thing about him was that his work was up to nearly a quarter of a mile down the underground. and when the mines were all closed... He came here to Bristol and he got a work in an aircraft*

place up in Filton. So, instead of his work being down there, he's found above, up in the air above us. Amazing! isn't it? But out of all things, he was a poet. Well, you wouldn't think about a working man being a poet. Lovely man, poor old fellow, but he's gone, I'm afraid.

Dan's follow up interview



4/. About Bristol.

Bristolians have every right to be proud of their city. For centuries it has led the world with shipping and trade. Almost everything that can be made, was or is produced here. Our great engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel built the GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY
from Bristol to London, fondly known of, as "GOD''S WUNDERFUL RAILWAY, including the tunnels and Temple Ma station.
also the Clifton Suspension Bridge that spans the Avon Gorge at some 250 ft. above the water, connecting the love Downs to the Somerset side. The first large luxury iron ship to sail the World's oceans was designed by him and bu in Bristol. It was also the first to be powered by steam. It still has some sails, just to be on the safe side I guess. She now on show to the public in the dock
where she was built. – a sight worth seeing. Must not forget the aircraft industry where Bristol has been a leade for a very long time. Bristol planes were in action in the first World War, and the plane makers now are enjoying t Digital time.

The City is overcrowded, especially the roads due to the massive increase in population, but it is a Green City. The are trees everywhere and open spaces like the Downs and Blaise Castle Estate etc that are open to the public. It is still

Figure 22. Dan's story: About Bristol

Dan's motivation for his initial story was to share the life of his friend as he understood this was an opportunity to create a new narrative about miners. He used Word because he had been using this technology long enough for him to feel comfortable producing documents. Even though this story was not co-created, he felt happy about sharing with me and the rest of the group, and allowing it to appear potentially anywhere I published my work. He reconsidered his topic after reflecting on the place-based approach that had been guiding the sessions.

Dan and Macy had worked together on the fourth session (see Figure 23) and both expressed during the interview that it was a 'shame' that Macy could not attend the fifth session to collaboratively craft a story. Nevertheless, they reported that they had been continuing their conversations when we met after the research had finished.

Figure 23. Macy and Dan planning the creation of digital stories

Finding 7 relates the importance of facilitating intergenerational activities. In reflecting on my role as facilitator, I was worried that my facilitation would be inadequate: either too intrusive or too loose. After the first session when Hazel expressed concerns about George's participation, I welcomed her interest and active involvement in the pursuit of more horizontal relations. This intervention was somewhat unexpected, but I appreciated that the existing relations between Hazel and George and also between Hazel and me gave Hazel the confidence to tell me that she was vigilant of what she considered to be undesirable behaviour from her husband. As explained earlier in the chapter, my approach was to invite auto-regulation through confidence in both myself and the participants. I was only able to do it successfully because this confidence was based on the knowledge of participants' backgrounds and the relationships that I personally developed with them before and during our encounters, all of which resulted in a more seamless moderation (Bradbury-Huang, 2010, 2014).

In the next section, I explore challenges and opportunities of this cycle.

6.4 Challenges and opportunities for intergenerational practice findings

In this section, I explore the challenges and opportunities in enabling intergenerational spaces. They are divided into three main categories: social, technological, and methodological. The eighth finding is about negotiating social identities, the ninth finding is about technological considerations, the tenth is related to methodological considerations, and the eleventh and final finding for this cycle is focused on theoretical considerations.

Finding 8 is about negotiations of social identities. The first source of tension that I noticed was the existing views, widespread cultural beliefs, and understandings of age and generations that participants carried with them (Cohen, 2002; Lianos, 2013). More specifically, I noted their expectations around relational dynamics between young and older generations, particularly for Hazel, George, Dan, and Mar, as noted earlier. Equally, I had made clear from

the beginning the nature of the project as well as my expectations in terms of my understanding of intergenerational relationships and intentions to foster more egalitarian interactions (Katz & Lowenstein, 2010).

I observed that the existing relationship between Hazel and George sparked some tensions, as Hazel understood the tasks to be something you could do ‘wrong’.

I also noticed that during the session, the three older adults seemed to be waiting for my cue to proceed. I asked myself if this was something I needed to worry about. I was interested in allowing participants to be spontaneous and do things the way they liked, and I felt anxiety as I remembered the previous cycle. I was concerned that I might never get away from the expectations of conducting research and receiving ‘what I want’ or the ‘right’ answer (Kemmis et al., 2015). I had spoken openly about my intentions to keep this as a welcoming space. But I still asked myself if and when it would become an unwanted pressure, or if there was a chance that this arrangement could be ‘too loose’. In the end, intergenerational interactions partly corresponded to participants’ understandings and experiences of age and ageing. Dan gave a rich account about his experience and views during our initial interview:

> *Dan: Well, you see, mother and children now, a lot of them, don't get to see their grandparents. We get children to come here now [to BECR]. Children from school. The idea is to mix with us, older people … one little lad… always says "Oh, I never see my grandparents" He said they live in India. Now, he has no chance to see his grandparents. Has he? … I mean, older people are almost a different thing to him. and I understand it. This is what you were saying about the gap between young people and older. And I understand that they're trying to do something about this all over the country. And I saw on television where exactly what's happening here is happening somewhere else. Well, apparently school children were visiting uh... well, a place like this... An old people's home.. and, do you know what surprised me? I thought well, I don't suppose the kids are really interested in that, you know... Because as an old person I don't really know just how modern children think and behave. They're different from us … And we, are different from them… And I thought "well..." When I was asked to join in, I followed in the previous project that was running here. The one of memorising what life was like in the past. that was easy: for me to remember things. But to try and work up a friendship idea with young people, that's a bit difficult. Anyway. I was surprised because the kids love it! The teacher was telling me. she said "Oh, the kids can't wait to get here. They love it!" We get children by 8 years old or 10... and she said "actually they're quite annoyed because the school holidays are coming up and they can't come again until September". And I was amazed. to think that children*

would be so interested to come to chat with us and talk. Well, they brought some games... there were some games that they play nowadays which I never... and we had a lot of games that we played that they've never seen. Oh, they were most interested in it all! and it amused me ... Then the session was for them to go round … and ask whatever they want… there was some little girl... Do you know the questions she was asking me were not what I would've expected a child to?... they were like a grown-up's! I was surprised. There you see. one of the differences when, in my day, when I was a small child the thing was that "children should be seen but not heard". You know, at the meal table and that, the children didn't start talking they had to wait till they were spoken to, and then answer. Well, nowadays, I notice when some of the visitors have their grandchildren there or great grandchildren. The children take over the talking and chatting off!!... Well, I think to myself, "My goodness. They'd be really chastised in my day" … I'm not saying they were unkind to you. but you had to know your place. You were a child. You were uneducated. You weren't a grown up. you know. And "children should be seen, and not heard" that was a common phrase. I'm not saying that they were unkind to us or anything like that. Things were a bit harder, really. Mind you, I find it a bit annoying sometimes, because some of these children are a bit too forward. Of course, that's because of my age and I'm not used to it. I mean, they call us all by our Christian name. And that wasn't allowed. Oh, you!... A child had to call a grown up with respect. It was either Ms, or Madam or Mr and Mrs and all. I mean, if you met... In my village where I lived, the children... not all the children, but most people... If you were walking up the road and you met a lady coming the other way, you had to lift your hat to her to say "Good morning!" Can you imagine children doing that now?

Dan's initial interview

Dan's lengthy response is tremendously informative. From this excerpt, I want to highlight that he brings to the fore the change in social norms regarding what it meant to be a child when he was a child himself – as someone who had to obey – and what it meant to be an adult – someone who was owed 'respect' and obedience. He also touches on the effects of demographic change, e.g. that young people end up estranged (metaphorically, or literally) from their families and this distancing impacts their relationship with people from different generations. In addition, I noted conflicting notions of relational models based on his own upbringing. For example, he is uncomfortable being called by his 'Christian name', but at the same time, he wanted to engage in intergenerational programmes with these 'too forward' young people. Equally, I was interested in his seemingly underestimation of the value that intergenerational initiatives bring to younger people.

Hazel's account converged with Dan's in various ways. She also noticed differences between the young people of her time and young people today, but she was optimistic about older adults and young people building relationships:

> *Hazel: That's right! yes... freedom of speech in a sense [referring to changes in how older people are portrayed, and how it is possible to publicly talk about "old-age" issues honestly and openly] I suppose, but nothing is quite as confidential in a sense, as it used to be. You kept things to yourself. It was what you did. we have an expression... in ... the British have a stiff upper lip. In other words, you carried on regardless, you kept everything buttoned up, you know. You carried on and got on with it. But there's not that tightness now. People feel a lot freer in saying, as you're saying, saying how they feel. Yes... I feel there's a change, in that respect. Personally, I find there's change in that respect. People growing up now, won't notice it quite as much, but from our day you just didn't ... you just didn't... we... you were told, and as I say I was brought up strictly, you never spoke at the table unless you… "Children were seen but not heard" was the expression. And that's how it was. And that's stuck. That stuck all through your life... you were reluctant to talk freely. You were reluctant to say how you really felt. You didn't show emotions of any kind. You just went on through life. But that has changed an awful lot in every generation now. Yes...*
>
> *Hazel's initial interview*

From her perspective, Hazel also notices the change in socially accepted behaviour and attitudes from both young and older, but she focuses on the advantages. For her, freedom of speech, although difficult to live by, is seen as liberating. In fact, she welcomes these changes in relational intergenerational standards. During our follow up interview, she remarked about a conversation she had with one of her greatgrandchildren, and told me, *'this little one is talking to me and the fact that I'm an old lady hasn't made a scrap of difference!'* (Hazel's follow up interview).

George had a similar upbringing to that of Dan and Hazel. During our initial interview, he was talking about a hierarchical organisation based on age, and I brought up a specific question to gain more insight:

> *D: And there was this saying like "Children should be seen, but not heard". How do you feel about it?*
>
> *George: Oh! That's a thing, yes... when you came in of a night-time, it was jobs. You had a job to do. Mother used to find you a job. And then when you had your tea, you used to sit quietly and ... not butted in on any of the adult conversation. but you used*

to listen, admittedly. and that's all. You weren't let to talk, unless someone said to you something, and ask you something. And then when the time came that you had to go to bed, it was up you went. No arguing. but there was a case of, if mother had a visitor you had to stood... you either were over in a corner and play quietly. Or you went down the garden and had it there ... you never interrupted while your mother was talking to her friends. Not that she was cruel. but that's how it was. That's how it was…you didn't talk...Tea table's none of this chattering... you got on with your food and that was it. When you'd finished, you got up. I used to getting up. but you don't go up unless mother says 'alright'… Yeah, you sat down, somewhere quiet. My dad was talking with my older brothers, you never butted in, you never said anything. You know, you only talk when someone was talking to you. Mother said 'to bed' you went to bed. No arguing.

George's initial interview 2017

He did not explicitly mention during our interviews his stance for or against the evident change in the older-younger dynamics, but from our encounters and the responses from Hayley, I am inclined to think that this was a contentious subject for him, in a similar way to Dan.

Mar's earlier encounters with different generations through her cultural upbringing mirrored those of Hazel, Dan, and George. She was surprised when she found herself witnessing a more horizontal approach of intergenerational relations:

Mar: I learnt people are more open than I thought despite their age... and from the other interactions I saw. I think the way the other girls treated the adults, and they interacted with them was less formal than I'm used to. For me elderly people are really like... so, I wouldn't make a joke about somebody... but for example, I guess is part of the British humour. So, the girls were happy making fun of one of them. that's sort of weir... and they were happy. It was normal. They didn't get offended or anything. It was just like... I think it is just interesting to have that feeling of being equal. Even though they're people with more experience in life. I think it showed me a different way of interacting with elderly people. just treat them as equal… as I said I see them as more open. I was thinking "Oh, elderly people were more kind of Brexit voters" ... but at least the group we have, it was not... they were quite open... at least that was my perception. I don't know. I'm not sure of their political views. I think they still see Britain as a place. For some reason they didn't seem to be willing to travel around the world, just travel around Britain, but still accepting and taking.

Mar's follow up interview 2017

Mar saw the change in power dynamics in a positive light, as for her this yielded an opportunity for connecting at a different level with older generations in Britain, despite the divisive political climate.

In a similar vein, Macy and Hayley had expectations of their own which arose from their personal life stories.

Macy attended the research sessions from the second meeting, and she had previously mentioned that her relationship with older adults was influenced by similar interests. But after the workshops, she had a broader perspective of older adults and intergenerational relationships:

> *Macy: I think maybe the initial bit when you sort of start and I didn't quite know... and it was obviously talking with strangers and again... it sort of got... maybe underestimating older people... sort of almost. underestimating how curious and interested they were going to be. so, it was really positive what came out of it, but also... not quite knowing, having that miscommunication to start with... and when you first meet people, it's sort of difficult in some ways. Some of it was with technology. giving people space to do it themselves... and I can be a little bit impatient. so that was kind of. it was fine. I was fine doing it, but I was [shows her hands one holding the other] I suppose… I do find some of the biggest differences with people our own generation... I felt I had a lot more in common with the older people than I did with Hayley, and ... I forget the other girl's name... I think it has more to do with me than with them... I actually grew up quite ... [unintelligible] I grew up quite different. I noticed in the things they were saying and talking about as well. I'm not trying to generalise our generation... just different from different people.*
>
> *Macy's follow up interview*

One component of Macy's perceived gain from this study was the knowledge that older adults are not a homogenous group that should be tarred with the same varnish. She found value in connecting with older adults that she recognised as diverse as any other generation (Vincent & Phillips, 2013).

Regarding the conclusion of the study as perceived by participants, George also felt he had a positive outcome by the time of our final interview. He wanted to share what he knew and was surprised to learn from the young participants:

> *George: I learned quite a lot of things in there, you see. The things that they do, I knew nothing of. And the things that I did, they knew nothing of as well. It's very interesting. I was a bit lost [about the research] but then I picked up with the help of the*

youngsters… the closing came in on me, what was going on… and I could I thought there was something I could give, perhaps not. I don't know. But I was very surprised at some of the things that I've learned. Now don't say I'm daft at my age, but I did learn quite a few things …What the younger people do nowadays. rather than what they've done in the old days. The difference in clothes and things like that. That kind of thing, the way they dress. It's amazing really, but I did learn a lot.

George's follow up interview

From this response, I want to draw attention to the positive perception George had of the encounters for the study and his negotiation of an implied initial understanding of different generations in terms who can contribute what, and when, as seen with the older adults in BSS cycle.

For younger participants, taking part in my study offered a chance to explore otherwise inaccessible (for a number of reasons) connections with older adults and to see them in a different light:

Hayley: Firstly, it was my experience with my own grandparents that my grandmother is in a home now, she's got dementia. She doesn't recognise or remember anyone. That's very challenging for my grandfather who's mid-90s, but he's still with it. He's still "compos mentis" as he says. uhm. So, I've been helping him, trying to give him more emotional support and just generally just chatting with him really. and listening to him. so that's been about the last two years. I've been doing that... and when your study came up. And also, he's got an iPad now, and he's got a laptop, and he's always been on a computer trying to learn things. So, your study just sort of fit with those two things I've done myself with my grandad… I thought it was going to be about older people telling their life stories mainly. uhm. And sort of the... maybe the emotional kind of support that gives them, or just the general wellbeing that gives them by telling their stories, just talking... but now I see that it was more than that. it's actually sort of building a picture of the people of Bristol almost, and how that ties in with the older generation. And you were more looking at communication in general rather than it being about a life story. I think I probably had some assumptions because I've heard of the Tangible Memories project before, we had a little talk about it when I started the course at my masters. So, I had some idea of what you were doing, but I thought yeah. That it'd be more personal than it was … when I signed up to do the research. I just did it... I don't know. Just because of the grandad link and I was like "yeah! I'll do it" I didn't read that much into it, and it was really good. Then when I was about to start, I was like "why?? I don't live anywhere near this place! it's going to be a lot of my time

given for free" and then something in the back of my head was saying "no, it's a good thing, this is a good thing for you. and you should do this" and now I'm being vindicated. It was a good thing! I'm really glad I did it!! So yeah, volunteering, good.

Hayley's follow up interview

Hayley's experience of the research was influenced by her own personal relationships, and much to her surprise, the study's focus was in providing a positive experience for both. In addition to that, the fact that her being involved with older adults who present aspects of the widespread image of 'old-age frailty' (Williams & Giles, 1991), heavily informed her views on what older adults were like as a homogeneous group.

In a similar fashion, Mar's understanding of intergenerational relationships underpinned her participation in the project:

Mar: Since, I'm an international student it's a bit hard to get in contact with the actual British people, most of my friends are international students. I saw the project as an opportunity to relate to other people from the UK, especially from Bristol, and also because I'm interested in some aspects of the European history … I was very excited about the idea to get to know people who actually experienced the Wars. And I wanted to help you. I thought it was more about me being a listener, and just getting all the information I could from the elderly people I would be in contact?... I think the project required me to be more active, not just a passive subject getting information. But also telling my own stories. and just also... having me as an... how do you say? an important person who would have stories to tell.

Mar's follow up interview

Mar had started the project hesitant to bring attention to herself but grew to appreciate the horizontal communication, recognising herself as someone who has something valuable to say (Benmayor, 2008; Cucinelli et al., 2018).

Finding 9 concentrates on how technological infrastructure enhanced or hindered communications and activities throughout the research. I present below the data I gathered by asking directly how participants perceived the use of technologies in the cycle.

Hayley: Oh. It's so hard! uhm… I'm trying to imagine how all the sessions would've gone if there was just coming and talk and there was no technology available... and I just don't think it... I just think it would've been quite... [still?] to the times. and it was almost the challenge of the... the difficulties of the technology were part of the bonding... me and George bonded over the fact that the laptop wasn't working. That was almost

part of the process... so it's hard to say... I think, yeah, there were benefits, uh... even if it was just the search engine... actually... actually I did like going into Map your Bristol. I'm sorry that's the one I keep talking about...

uhm… I think that could be made easier to use, because almost all the blobs on the map are the same colour seemingly and I found it hard to be like "right! I want to see... famous women from the 1800s". I'm a millennial, I'm supposed to be able to use these things... and I was finding it hard to be able to discriminate quickly searchings on that website... so that could be improved. If that was improved, I think that'd be a really good one... just needs only a little bit more colourful, clear, user-friendly... Then it would definitely be of help. It was a little bit of a hindrance 'cos it was a little bit confusing to use...

Yeah... It's the same as the Google search in it, I think is having that variety of things on the map. So, there're 7 or 8 things and you can... I mean, this is what I do with children as well. It's very much like you move from one to the other, to the other. You have the variety that you can say... "well, once I get bored on this conversation topic, there's going to be something to move quickly" to avoid that kind of... moment of "where are we going next?" Really easily signpost from one to the other, there's no strict route. you don't have to do one, and then one... it just naturally... the conversation flow through… the sort of options, but then it's not so broad that you can't find your way... that's what I like that thing... whereas, again, the iPad ...you had to be... maybe it was with George as well. he had to be so decisive of what are we going to take picture of now... what are we gonna write on this exact thing now... and there was... it was hard to get through those steps with him. too many decisions...

Hayley's follow up interview

From Hayley's account, technology was not always straightforward choice, and she offered me a nuanced view, highlighting both the benefits and predicaments of using various technologies to engage in conversation with participants in this cycle. For example how she saw value in using MyB, but worried about making it accessible to co-create a story *with* George. Similarly, Macy weighed in the pros and cons of including technologies in our intergenerational storytelling activities.

D: What can you tell me about your experience in the workshops when you had to be using either a laptop or an iPad while talking to an older person

Macy: I found it fine, though I found it a little bit rude sometimes. I was kind of peeking on screens or something, or just doing stuff and didn't know if maybe they wanted to

be using the technology more or... so it's kind of part of being in a group. 'cos some of us said "I don't... you do it" and it's like you don't want to be giving this person... you wanted to give your partner your attention while you're sort of fiddling something here... but then, you also want to give people space to use the technology if they wanted to, sort of seeing how things were going... so I found it... it was kind of a conversation starter in some ways, but also it felt a bit of a barrier in others... huh ...'cos you kind of forcing this conversation round this object, whereas maybe it would've gone off on a different direction otherwise. In fact, if we needed to... like if we needed to watch all these videos and it felt almost a bit of pressure... perhaps to finish doing stuff. hu... and there were the problem of things not loading and connecting. which did make it a bit more sort of challenging. Huh... but then, on the flipside that... you kind of just ended up talking to each other, rather than looking for stuff... that was the flip side of that...

D: Do you think that changed as we went through the different workshops?

Macy: huh... I think it was little bit hindered by not very good wi-fi and the technology side was hard to sort of gauge and I think we ended up talking more about stories, rather than the personal stories. Which I think I had the impression that personal stories was the main ... a lot of bigger stories and bigger narratives about the city as a whole, rather than just personal experiences... then, the same side the big stories are important too. People felt in the mood and started ... slightly doing that

Macy's follow up interview

From Macy's perspective, technology generated conflicting emotions and potentially distracted her and the older adults from engaging in conversations, with technological shortcomings in such forms as the quality of internet connection or technological expertise required (van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). On the other hand, she found that technology sparked conversation, and it made her reflect on the needs and desires of the older adults she was talking to (Katz & Lowenstein, 2010), including Dan. Dan was no stranger to trying situations and he approaches his limitations to his hearing and sight graciously. For Dan, technology might have represented an obstacle, but he was ready for the challenge by acknowledging the involvement he was able to achieve.

Dan: Well, I haven't got on... I've got a computer, a laptop, but I've also got a computer now. That's it. I haven't got any further than that. I haven't got a ... Well, I'm afraid I took the idea, that well "I've gone far enough. I don't think I'll bother with that." Tell me, who get in ...? I mean, I'm not... well, that's so complicated… I didn't get on well with those things. No. but I'm older than most people. That's the point. [laugh]

Dan's follow up interview

Despite his having 'gone far enough' with technology, Dan's participation in the study and the story he contributed are a testament to changing my approach in which technology is only as important as it allows the interactions to happen.

Finding 10 is about methodological opportunities. In the previous chapter I highlighted the participatory aspect of my AR design. In this section I focus on the effects of place, as in the physical location (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2015; Krimerman, 2001), for the BECR cycle. I have introduced BECR as a place that has potential for nurturing positive encounters between its residents and the community. I found that Hazel, Dan and George were happy to be BECR residents, and the overall environment was also welcoming for the purpose of my research. In particular, I considered that the space in which this cycle took place was inspiring for the kind of activities that we were doing. For one, the room we used in BECR for our workshops had been equipped with wi-fi, an iPad, a collection of books and historical artefacts as a result of taking part in the Tangible Memories project (see Chapter 2). This previous collaboration between the University of Bristol and BECR had encouraged BECR residents to challenge pre-conceived notions of universities and research, and to be more receptive to future research collaborations. In addition, I had been using that room regularly to meet the older adults and do things with computers and iPads; importantly, it was a place where we established our friendship and got talking about our personal lives along with using technological devices. Finally, the specific setup of the room with the map at the back wall in full colour and splendour (see Figure 16), the boxes containing items from days gone by sorted by decade, and the overall peaceful atmosphere was to my liking and an unexpected but key aspect of this cycle. Nevertheless, other factors increase the complexity of accessing the place. I happened to be fortunate to experience the more positive side of it and make the most of our sessions, but as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the fact that people arrange their lives around obligations such as school, or work, for example, meant that there were numbered opportunities left for participation in the intergenerational encounters I was organising. For instance, only one of the younger adults attended the first workshop: I had only one younger adult as a result of the sudden drop out as described in the previous section, and another could not attend due to an unrelated traffic incident. Regarding the traffic incident and the impact this had, I wrote the following in my research journal:

> *I received a message from Macy. In her message, Macy explained that she was stuck in traffic. I replied that we could wait for her. I was planning to start and update her when she could join. She asked if it was possible to re-arrange. I told her to let me know when she was near to let her in, which was assuming that she would be probably*

20 minutes later (around 1830). When interviewed about challenges she faced to take part in the study, this is what she highlighted:

Macy: the traffic getting there!! [laughs] I was just unlucky on the M5…

Macy's follow-up interview, 2017

Of course, the AR process entailed negotiation and some conflict, both of which occurred as the group was being formed, for example Hazel and Dan's concerns about people being too loud. In our initial interview, I asked if they would be happy to be on the same project with a group of people. Hazel said she should be fine as long as the group was not too big. However, with groups of people, the dynamics of interaction and dialogue (Freire, 1972) have to be taken into consideration: how much someone is speaking and how they listen or not to others – as with Hazel's concern expressed at the end of session 1.

As noted earlier, during the first and second meeting, Hazel was concerned about the conversations being taken over by George, and I noted that tension in my researcher's journal and followed with this reflection:

Nevertheless, the amicable environment, the cooperation and engagement led our workshops through a path of understanding in which people decided to focus on the positives.

Hazel started to answer and summarised for me all the questions. She mentioned that in this session it was made clear that regardless of our different backgrounds we have a lot of things in common. She said that finding out about these commonalities was a pleasurable experience. She highlighted that this workshop was a good opportunity to meet with people and learn about them and herself as well. The other participants agreed with her.

Researchers journal, session 1 BECR, 2017

Having learnt from the previous cycle to be responsive, I planned to keep track of activities and times, and check that participants had the same opportunities to talk (Bradbury-Huang, 2014). However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interactions organically developed as participants engaged with each other in the storytelling activities and negotiated meaning together. Another example of these negotiations is Hayley's experience with George:

Hayley: Laughing... joking, getting each other's jokes, finding each other funny. That is hard to just like get in the first session... and it involved some resilience on my part, I felt. 'cos there was a lot of... I don't know... things that could be difficult with someone like George who's saying "oh, you don't know much! you don't know this! you don't

know this! you don't know much! you've never heard of this person? what do they teach you? How did you got to this age? you don't know this...!" That was pretty constant for one of the sessions... but because I'm... you know, that's nothing for what I'm used to... dealing with... I can just sit there and go "oh... yeah"... and shake it off... I really don't care. and then forget all of that, come back fresh, you know... new outlook, and I think because I got through that and I was still willing to... I too... I kind of took the piss out of him a little bit. I'd be making jokes about him. because I've been resilient to his like joking on me, then I felt I could give a bit back, and that's what built respect I think. that's when he was like "oh! You're not just this like young person who doesn't know anything. You have a personality too" and... He was probably used to hanging out with blokes at the pub. I'm not a bloke at the pub. I had to kind of be something more than what I normally are, to make him want to talk to me and have fun with me... but once I sort of figured that out. Yeah... We did laugh quite a lot. He did genuinely make me laugh. Which is not always easy. Specially on a cold, like dark evening... talking about some random woman from the 1800s. That I've never heard of. but yes, that was fun... That's finding a way to... common ground for me and George like... we can sort of make fun of each other and it's ok. Uhm... and that's what build a bond, in a very short amount of time! I'm surprised! in 4 sessions of an hour... an hour and a half, isn't it? Yeah, I'm impressed.

Hayley's follow up interview, 2017

Finding 11 Is about using CoP and critical pedagogy for interrogating intergenerational relationships. I have previously addressed the importance of reflecting through critical dialogue (Freire, 1996) on our intergenerational activities. One example that I thought was important was in relation to challenging existing stereotypes and negative patterns of intergenerational relationality (Cohen, 2002; Valentine, 2015; Williams & Giles, 1991). For example, before starting the intervention, I was aware of the concerns of George and Dan about engaging in intergenerational relationships. Both of them expressed worries regarding negative stereotypes of male older adults approaching young people. They recognised the impact of the conduct of sexual predators, often older men attacking young children, which was currently being discussed by news outlets as major legal cases were being aired. George and Dan mentioned that one obstacle to intergenerational relationships for them as older men were the wrongdoings that had caught the public eye through high-profile cases of sexual abuse: long-operating paedophiles who were now being found out.

George: But you could say I always talk to youngsters. Nowadays they say you shouldn't do this because the [unintelligible] of paedophiles and all that businesses. But I wasn't brought up to that kind of thing. This is what amazes me ...you know... You come along to this business of sex scam. That's going on in the papers now and on the news.

George's initial interview

George was saddened that he had to think twice when engaging in regular conversation for fear of being seen as inappropriate. His concern, he explained, was that he was a very sociable person that talked to anyone, but under with the heightened scrutiny, he might be at risk of crossing an unknown boundary.

Dan offered deeper insight into this topic. He mentioned a number of cases coming up on the news and how that affected older men who could be seen as 'dirty' if they attempted to be nice and address a child they did not know. He spoke melancholically about his own childhood when children would disappear all day, to play or just being outdoors and nothing happened: there was no need to be concerned for the safety of those children.

Addressing these difficult topics is helpful to negotiate tensions. Tensions are part of negotiating relationships (Wenger, 1998). And, within our intergenerational group, a sense of balance was found. From the first day of the BECR cycle until the last session, I observed participants express that sharing our stories was a helpful way of getting to know each other. This sharing paved the way to then take a further step into creating something together as a token of our participation in this research. In the end, Hayley summarised the positive outcome of being part of this research:

Hayley: Well, it had a positive impact on us six, I think definitely count that in! I really enjoyed it! In fact, I enjoyed it so much that I would now seriously consider working with older people in a psychological context. something... I work with children. I don't know if I told you that. So I work with children with autism, for 6 years now, and there are some similarities, in the way that you hold yourself, in the way that you sort of have to be clear in your communication, the way you have to follow somebody else's motivation, rather than to have just a normal balanced conversation... so I found that there were some skills that I had to bring to bring to that kind of context, and I enjoyed it so much that I would... I'd probably go and do more... so, you definitely did... you've done something good, definitely. I don't know about the wider community yet, but yeah! I think that's the biggest bonus for me.

Hayley's follow up interview

From this last quote, I want to draw attention to the communication practices that Hayley brought with her to our intergenerational space that helped her negotiate her participation in my study. I saw value in her contribution the same way that she appreciated a learning experience that might inform her future career choices, as well as intergenerational practices. In addition, critical pedagogies provided the theoretical tools to help to make my research design more participatory, which can be observed in the vignettes and stories, and more reflexive, as shown in the interview excerpts.

With the data provided throughout the chapter, I have illustrated the opportunities that using CoP with critical pedagogies can offer to design an intergenerational space with reciprocal relationships.

6.5 What I have learnt from this cycle

I began this cycle with caution, as I was aware that there might be difficulties at every stage, as I learnt during the BSS cycle. Once the initial interviews with participants were completed I was more confident that knowing participants before the research was going to ease the activities, and provide valuable information for my mediation. In this case, I was able to build on existing relationships (finding 1) to create strong intergenerational connections. Our interactions were not free from tensions arising (finding 2) in response to differing life-experiences. Negotiation as a key to address these tensions (finding 3). Overall, the place-based storytelling activities increased rapport amongst generations (finding 4), especially when participants were co-creating (finding 4.a) a digital story. I provided a refreshed perspective on what technologies and how to use them for our activities (findings 5,6&9). Participants in this cycle were negotiating their social identities (finding 8), as their previous experiences and understandings were contested through participating in this study (finding 10). Finally, I observed how the theoretical framework of CoP in combination with critical pedagogies helped me design a generative environment in which an intergenerational COP centred around the place-based storytelling practice emerged, as participants engaged in critical dialogue and negotiations.

In this chapter I have provided evidence for the eleven findings that I began sketching in Chapter 6, and added a new finding related to place-based storytelling and relationship building (a full list of the findings can be found in appendix F).

In the next chapter, I present analysis of the data and discuss the evolution from the school cycle to the BECR cycle in the light of existing literature and using the theoretical framework.

Chapter 7. Discussion

When I started this PhD, I optimistically set out to bring together a group of people with different ages. As was presented in the previous findings chapters, the interventions, although primarily successful, did not go strictly according to plan. In this chapter, I critically examine the findings and explain how they integrate within the existing literature. The chapter is organised based on the research questions and corresponding overarching themes:

- **Narrative and the community**: here, I focus on the use of storytelling as a practice to foster intergenerational relationships, using the CoP framework as a lens for analysis. These intergenerational groups are nurtured by a learning process that relies on storytelling, one key element of which is critical dialogue. I consider the elements of place-based storytelling that enabled learning as a basis for increased understanding and communications between generations in my study. I compare the use of narratives to start the dialogue and co-creation of place-based digital stories as a source for deepening these relationships. (*RQ 1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?*)
- **Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters**: in this theme, I look at how digital and non-digital technologies gravitated from being the centre piece in my initial design to being intermittent tools for mediation, with instances where technological devices enhanced communication by enriching the storytelling. I discuss the role of technologies, storytelling, and place as boundary objects where meanings are negotiated as participants develop their shared practice as a community. I explore the intricacies of using different technologies in intergenerational settings and my role as a facilitator/researcher. (*RQ 2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?*)
- **Challenges and opportunities**: in this section I explain the opportunities and challenges evident in viewing intergenerational encounters as CoP. I argue that the existing social organisation can nurture and/or constrain our interactions, and then offer a critique of prevalent, asymmetrical intergenerational relationships and consider how individual life stories play out when a younger adult and an older adult engage in critical dialogue. Finally, I provide further commentary on the implications of conducting Action Research (AR) with a participatory approach in the intergenerational setting of this study. (*RQ 3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?*)

7.1 Narrative and the community: *Building rapport through place-based storytelling*

In this section, I look at how the sharing and co-creation of stories played out in the two different research sites and draw out key findings regarding the use of storytelling to encourage intergenerational relationships. I discuss the key findings for the first research question, *How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?,* based on the findings from the previous chapters relating to the theme of this section: *Narrative and the community.*

I argue that place-based story telling is ONE way of fostering the emergence of a more reciprocal intergenerational practice, and in this research, place-based storytelling was used to provide the foundation for a trusting relationship. As been explored by other intergenerational programmes (Chonody & Wang, 2013; Freeman et al., 2018), storytelling as a means to gain insight into other generations offers an opportunity for rethinking intergenerational encounters.

7.1.1 Key finding: Sharing and co-creating place-based stories to build rapport

As mentioned in Chapter 3, what defines a CoP is, *practice.* A practice within a CoP can be interrogated by looking through its three dimensions: *shared repertoire, mutual engagement,* and *joint enterprise* (Wenger, 1998). Here I discuss how the emergence of CoP unfolded in my study.

Having the understanding of practice as 'doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do' (Wenger, 1998, p. 47), I set out to sow the seed of place-based storytelling as one of the practices to be shared in our groups, and I used it to guide the emergence of an intergenerational CoP.

For the design of my intervention, I drew on the notion of shared repertoire, which can be understood as a 'set of resources for negotiating meaning' (Wenger, 1998, p. 82). I put emphasis on the building of such resources, bringing 'place-based storytelling'. Thus, there was potential for participants to find common ground through learning from each other's narratives of Bristol. I designed my study for participants to be focused on a place-based activity, as suggested by Mannion and Adey (2011), where the combination of intergenerational and place-based education allows that people can better flourish. For me, using a place-based activity carried my hope for sharing and generating new meanings and practices.

I designed an experiential workshop giving participants a suggested joint enterprise (sharing and creating stories). In the BSS cycle, there was a shared repertoire (cultural beliefs and institutional identities) which meant there had to be more negotiation in order to reach together a new understanding of intergenerational relationships (Wenger, 1998). In the BECR cycle, the encounters smoothly led to mutual engagement while increasing a shared repertoire and

resulted in continued participation of the community as relationships continued on after the intervention ended.

During the BSS cycle, the sharing of stories was initially helpful to build a sense of trust. There, the shared repertoire about institutional learning, combined with culture and personal stories stopped short of developing a joint enterprise. As trying as it was, through the critical exercise and dialogue that I pursued with the participants in the school cycle, there was enough trust and time to spark some change in their views. With the example of initial conversations in which participants have challenged their perceptions of the different age groups through their participation in intergenerational encounters illustrated towards the end of our sessions.

For the BECR cycle, the encounters organically flowed to form lasting relationships, showcasing how joint enterprise combined with mutual engagement and shared repertoire. This process prepared the ground for enabling the emergence of an intergenerational CoP. Because of learnings from the BSS cycle, and the critical pedagogy approach, participants had more freedom in the BECR cycle in comparison with BSS cycle and other intergenerational programmes (Kaplan, 2002; Winston et al., 2001).

In the school cycle, participants shared stories but were reluctant to leave behind the intergenerational practice they have been engaged with in their previous encounters with Making-Friends. At the end of the workshops, however, more equal and equilibrated exchanges were taking place, and there was negotiation about who could learn from who. I underestimated the influence of their shared repertoire in relation to their belonging to institutions, culture and shared understandings. Nevertheless, this convergence helped us find common ground within our intergenerational group, and they negotiated new ways of relating to one another as opposed to the existing power dynamics at Making-Friends. There was some development towards forging a CoP through the sharing of stories, but for this case, time constraints meant that we had to stop. These difficulties were worsened by divergent priorities, which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Given the chance to critically engage (Freire, 1972) in intergenerational practice, participants in the BECR cycle felt more compelled to create a digital story compared to the previous cohort. This exercise fostered communication and provided space for negotiation. In their own words, they perceived that the co-creation of stories was most helpful for bonding with other participants, for example with Hayley and George. Interestingly, though, participants preferred these bonding experiences to happen across generations, rather than within the same age-groups.

As was explained in the Literature review chapter, traditional approaches to intergenerational practice tend to focus on benefitting only one of the two age-groups, often by fostering one-

directional relations (Kaplan et al., 1998; Passey, 2014). For example, a group of toddlers from a local nursery joined adults from a nursing home (Seefeldt, 1987). In another initiative, older adults visited a school to teach children (Vanderbeck & Worth, 2015). The dynamics of Making-Friends, the lunch club that pre-dated my research at the school cycle, were not so different from these two examples, in the sense that the interactions were based on the presumption that one of the two age-groups would provide a service and the other one would receive it.

In the school cycle, the 'intergenerational' practice resembled that more traditional model, and these encounters were an element of their shared repertoire. Both older and younger adults had been taking part in the Making-Friends lunch club. Their relational habits were present in the BSS cycle, including superficial mixing with the other age group while trying to spend more time and do activities with their peers, though these behaviours decreased over the course of the workshops. Additionally, there seemed to be a shared understanding of schooling and education among participants at the school cycle. The fact that the study took place in the school library and that I was affiliated with the University did not help. The effect was that participants perceived that there was a 'right' and 'wrong' way to take part in the study. In truth, at some point, I did too.

But having participants tell each other stories challenged their existing intergenerational practice. In sowing the seed of critical dialogue (see Chapter 3) during the first meeting, I waited for participants to have a shift in their interactions. I had posed the question about what ideas people have of younger and older adults based on the media representations. During their discussions, they came to the conclusion that there are discrepancies between what people look like in the news and what they were in reality. Participants admitted to having negative views of the different age groups, but they also recognised that they were confident there were 'good' older and younger adults out there. They spoke of their daily lives, exchanging greetings with strangers, and hinted at being open to nurture intergenerational relationships when and if the other person is respectful and 'nice'. By the end of the workshops, their conversations and overall interactions started to look more reciprocal (Atkinson et al., 1986). The way they addressed each other appeared still respectful but less distant, as was explored in Chapter 5. After BSS participants overcame the notion of the study being a test-like 'school matter' and getting through the initial assumptions about intergenerational practice, I found there were traces of mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998) between participants. However, given the structural constraints, we had to stop at this point, just before establishing our bonds.

Tensions appeared to a certain degree in the BECR cycle; however, in this case, there was enough time and resources to break through stereotypes and expectations. In the BECR cycle, participants shared their stories and recognised that this experience, along with negotiations, helped them to bond. In their exchanges, they found ways of exploring common ground. Even though their expectations and held views around intergenerational practice were informed by traditional intergenerational understandings, younger adults in this cycle managed to engage in a more reciprocal horizontal relationship, exceeding participants' expectations. For example, with Hayley and George, tensions fluctuated but eventually led to a deeper understanding. By the end of the sessions, she noted that she felt a deep connection with him and described their relationship to be more reciprocal. She emphasised the struggle to earn his respect and how they ended up joking with each other. Similarly, Mar joined the research thinking she would sit and listen to the older adults' war stories, but up to this day, she reports that she keeps in touch with Hazel, exchanging updates of each other's lives. Although the perceptions of the city of Bristol were very personal, at the same time, they were part of the shared repertoire of knowing and experiencing the city. For example, with Macy and Dan, finding commonality in their Bristol experiences gave way to a deeper connection between them.

In BECR the group was committed and engaged and so the prospect of creating a story was more viable. In this case, story-creation became the joint enterprise, which was a missing piece from the previous cycle. In the case of BECR, this final piece of the puzzle served as the glue to bind them together as a CoP.

Sharing stories with a focus on place and critical discussion was a useful means to get to know each other. However, co-creating stories was a more powerful activity when done in an intergenerational pair. Having the two generations be more active and participative in the co-creation of place-based storytelling was recognised as a beneficial and welcomed outcome. Having a chance to have both an in-group and one-to-one activities, particularly in BECR enabled participants to gain insight into the potential of intergenerational relationships that are seen in the literature (Hessler & Lambert, 2017; Lennete, 2017; Lindvig, 2017; Meimaris, 2017; Weststrate et al., 2018).

7.2 Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters: *Boundary objects and brokering*

In this section, I discuss what use technology had for my research and what my role was in the intergenerational encounters. Based on the findings from the previous chapters relating to the theme of this section: *Technology and mediation of intergenerational encounters.*

Technology is a useful tool for communication. However, it has to be placed in context. In this research, there needed to be common ground around why participants use technology and for their willingness to use it. Additionally, the way in which technologies are perceived as a tool, rather than the centre of the interactions, should allow room for conversation. Rather than expecting the technologies to magically connect people, they were instead useful as a resource that was available but provided a space for exploration, and thus the interaction focused on the development of the intergenerational relationship, rather than the technologies. Another important factor in my research is the role of the moderator. Using the concept of boundary objects and brokering, I examine the mediating relationships of both technology and me as a facilitator.

7.2.1 Key finding: Technologies to explore and create

Boundary objects introduced by Star (1989) and discussed in detail by Star and Griesemer (1989), are known as

> abstract or physical artifacts that exist in the liminal spaces between adjacent communities of people. The communities may consist of informal groups or communities residing within organizations. BOs have the capacity to traverse perceptual and practical differences among communities and facilitate cooperation by fostering mutual understanding (Karsten et al., 2001, p. 89).

BOs helped me to understand and articulate connects and disconnects between the communities to which participants belonged that could help us build our own. Wenger (1998) noted the usefulness of BOs (Star, 1989) for bridging CoP; Wenger observed CoPs are abundant; they often overlap and are flexible. During the school cycle, perceptions of technology were challenged by the interactions that emerged with it and around it. There had to be more negotiation of meaning around technology, which as suggested by Star (1989), served as a boundary object.

The first boundary object was tied to the geographical aspect of sharing Bristol as a common thing four our storytelling, which fostered conversation and gave us a departing point which was sure to be useful. Bristol was the place where we then all lived (some participants do not live in Bristol anymore: two have now moved, and one died). However, each one of us had a very personal and singular experience of the city. Some of us felt like it was our home, some felt like they did not belong, and some did not think much of it. However, given the scope of the research I will focus on the discussion around technology as BOs.

The second boundary object was the technology which I proposed be used as a mediating tool for sharing and co-creating our stories. In our sessions we negotiated our understandings of technology. In the case of BSS cycle, agreements regarding technology were not so clear

as there was much more visibility to the struggles and tensions around negotiating meaning for this boundary object. However, in the BECR cycle, technology as tool for enhancing our communication was more evident; meaning that maybe, without technology, we would have still found a way to communicate by sharing and co-creating. But with the technological mediation, there was more richness to the intervention that was facilitated as the existence of technology sparked imagination and materialised our stories as more 'tangible' objects in the shape of digital stories.

With participants in BSS cycle, I learnt and experienced the convergence of our worlds. Since I had previously been a software developer, my own understanding and experience of technologies collided with the participants' understandings and experiences. Our clashing views (see Chapter 5) gave rise to new opportunities for using technologies, although for me this realisation emerged too late to make any changes with this cohort of participants. Given the divergence in understanding, acceptance, and use of digital technology that was observed during the sharing of stories in this cycle, it was clear to me that I needed to open up and embrace the disagreements as a chance to explore other alternative storytelling approaches.

From the BSS cycle, I learned that it would be more fruitful to aim to use technology as a form of inspiration if what I wanted was for participants to make something of their own. So, I adapted the sessions in such a way that participants could see and understand that there were endless possibilities for sharing our stories when using technology. This decision eased the negotiations of meaning around technology as a boundary object; thus in BECR, technologies were plastic enough to serve as a bridge for communications (see Chapter 6).

7.2.2 Key finding: Facilitating

In my research, all participants are part of a number of different CoPs. The negotiations between these CoP are mediated by people (brokers) and objects (boundary objects). Here, I argue the importance of my role as a broker who mediated and facilitated the formation of the intergenerational CoP, which stood at the intersection with the other CoP that participants also belong to.

In the BSS cycle, I wanted to bring in digital technologies, naively hoping that these would enhance communication between the older adults and younger adults. I began this study with some technological determinism that I was able to contest as a result of running the BSS cycle. I was convinced that bringing some digital expertise accompanied by an analogue run up would encourage participants to take the leap from a non-digital medium to digital technology. By the end of the cycle I reflected that I was displacing the intergenerational aspect of my research in favour of technology. Access to technology in itself is not the solution against oppression and age-segregation; for example, mere access to technology is still unequal

based on the existence of real-life oppressions (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Lee & Wang, 2020). Accordingly, technology alone does not change the material reality of people's lives (Selwyn, 2004; van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). For my thesis, the generational divide was not magically solved when I brought the MyB to the conversation: it was not enough to spark people's interest on its own (Hardill, 2015). The differing views of technology apparent in Chapter 5, unsettled my deeply-held ideas about technology. The fact that in the BSS cycle participants were willing to sit down and talk while I was recording them (instead of my original idea that participants digitise their own stories), meant that given the chance, people would explore technology at their own rhythms and under their own terms, as suggested by Vanderbeck and Worth (2015).

Having learnt from the previous cycle to be more flexible and receptive enabled a more participatory approach at BECR, where I proposed the co-creation of digital stories as a possibility. In BECR's case, I was able to somewhat successfully broker the relations around technology. In allowing flexibility with technology, there was some shared understanding between me and the older adults, in particular around the use of iPads, laptops, and desktop computers. They were positioned where the negotiation of stories and intergenerational practice was more important than the use of the digital technologies. In this case, technology's potential to enhance communications was well received. But, in contrast with the BSS cycle, I did not obsess over or imposed technological mediation on participants as a definitive goal for completion, which suggests some learning that I experienced as a facilitator. The facilitator role is important in some respect: with a more participatory approach, I could support the intergenerational CoP and encourage participants to actively engage in practice and incorporate their own narratives.

Paulo Freire (2005) spoke to the importance of being receptive when intending to design and carry out a more democratic research project: 'dialogue cannot exist without humility' (p. 90). Throughout his work, he wrote about trust and horizontal relationships, which has application for my work. Being a facilitator in a participatory design entails being receptive in order to research WITH participants, and the facilitator must be transparent in order to build trust and horizontal relationships. This learning experience for me as a facilitator was only possible by releasing control and accepting that the main purpose of my study was to enable a space for a positive experience of intergenerational encounters.

7.3 Challenges and opportunities: *Considerations*

In this section, I discuss the aspects that enabled or constrained my research and what I have learnt. Based on the findings from the previous chapters relating to the theme of this section: *Challenges and opportunities.*

7.3.1 Key finding: Social opportunities and challenges

Issues of access to and collaboration with BSS were like a series of hurdles that I, as a researcher, had to sort out. All the hoops (see Chapters 4&5) that were in place to safeguard people also acted as obstacles to positive encounters. Negotiating boundaries in this case proved to be a challenging task. As Wenger (1998) explained, boundaries are the outlines that mark the edges of CoP. He further suggested that boundaries do not entail a negative meaning, but rather they offer opportunities to reshape our realities through reconfiguration of social structures. In this sense, I understand the purpose of institutional boundaries. More explicitly, they provide the demarcation of a space, a practice, or a community that can be negotiated, contested, and changed. As noted in the literature, institutional support can make this kind of projects thrive (Mannion et al., 2010; McDonough & Wheeler, 1998). Regarding collaboration with institutions Manion and Adey (2011) put forward that intergenerational place-based learning is dependent on schools and community-based learning partnerships being sensitive to how the boundaries around local places are drawn. In other intergenerational projects, there has been more resources to build trusting relationships between researchers, institutions, and the community. Also, these resources have an impact on the outcome of the activities, for instance allowing enough time for participants to fully develop rapport and to give continuity to their relationships (Heydon, 2007, 2012; Meimaris, 2017). In my study I was responsible for facilitating the intergenerational encounters with limited resources.

On a personal level, however, participants and people in general, including gatekeepers and other staff involved were supportive of our intergenerational initiative. However, institutional values and understandings that participants carried with them still permeated our intergenerational encounters. In my first attempt, I approached BSS where there was an intergenerational group (Making-Friends). As was illustrated in Chapter 5, this group was heavily influenced by its previous intergenerational practice, as well as their own life experiences.

Even though some of the BECR participants' previous intergenerational experiences were similar to those experienced by participants in BSS, during the BECR cycle there was a better environment that nurtured this particular intergenerational project. I identified that previous collaborations between BECR and the university set a positive precedent for qualitative research WITH participants at BECR. Also, there I had a better position as a broker. I knew all of the participants with the exception of Hayley, which resulted in a more fluid progression

of our storytelling workshops (see Chapter 6). Despite my reluctance to admit it, there is no exact recipe for success, which is the most important learning for a critical pedagogy project: only working WITH people will allow it to transcend (Freire, 1972).

7.3.2 Key finding: technological challenges and opportunities

As discussed in Chapter 2, and earlier in this chapter, technology is a mere tool that enables social enterprises (Lee & Wang, 2020; Selwyn, 2004; van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). In order for these tools to fulfil their roles in mediating social encounters we need to address issues related to 'mental access', 'material access', 'skills access', and 'usage access' (van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). As illustrated in Chapters 5&6 technological infrastructure is prone to fail, and these shortcomings can be overcome when we acknowledge the social side to technology. In the end, the potential lies within the community and its participants as they engage in critical dialogue, with technology, without technology or despite technology.

7.3.3 Key finding: methodological and theoretical challenges and opportunities

As illustrated throughout Chapters 4,5&6 elements of my approach that have been useful to understanding and creating the environment for the emergence of an intergenerational community of practice, include CoP, critical pedagogy, and a participatory approach. I have discussed in earlier sections of this chapter how my CoP design with critical pedagogy has fostered positive environments for more egalitarian intergenerational relationships.

Chapter 8. Conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter I provide an overview of the research and offer some recommendations for future research and practice.

From my personal experience as a young person, I had both negative and positive encounters with older adults. In developing an intervention for this thesis, I focused on the positive experiences and tried to create opportunities for younger and older people to create their own. Thus, I designed an intervention for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP through the introduction of place-based storytelling as a practice and I myself in a position of mediator for these encounters. From the literature review, I found there is growing interest in integrating different generations (Ellis & Granville, 1999; Halcli & Webster, 2000; Hatton-Yeo, 2006; Radford et al., 2018). With my study, I tried challenging the existing perceptions and stereotypes around age that exist within the institutional cultures and the mainstream media. I proposed to integrate critical pedagogies within the theoretical framework of CoP, using place-based storytelling as my entry point. Given my philosophy underpinned by critical theory and my intention to investigate the generational gap while trying to contribute towards the creation of conditions for the emergence of intergenerational relationships, I used an action research design with a participatory ethos. At the centre of the design was an intervention that

consisted of place-based storytelling workshops in which participants used technology to carry out the activities. I ran an exploratory pilot that helped me to design my intervention. The initial cycle of the research followed the pilot and was run at Bristol Secondary School (BSS). From this cycle, one of the key findings was that using place-based narratives helped the creation of connections between participants. I also found that institutional practices should be considered in order to coordinate efforts for the project to prosper. After the BSS cycle, I adapted the intervention, incorporating a range of technologies that would encourage participants to think of a variety of possible ways to share stories, though this does not imply that technologies are always helpful and conducive to positive intergenerational relationships. I learnt that facilitating intergenerational programs lies at the backbone of successful outcomes, and being responsive and open to participants' input are key traits that a facilitator should bring with her. With my study, I was able to set up a fertile environment where an intergenerational community could flourish. However, there is still work to be done in the pursuit of more horizontal intergenerational encounters.

For this research, I chose the Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998) approach because I felt that it would provide a framework for learning communities and community building. I did not use all of the elements on this framework because it is too broad and the resources I had to conduct this research were not enough to expand into all of these areas. However, the elements that I chose to include gave me enough information to investigate the community development that I intended to do.

The main outcome of this study has been to demonstrate that place-based story telling is a way of bringing together older adults and young people because it provides a common ground to start exploring commonalities, which allowed participants in my project a position to decide if they wanted to engage in intergenerational conversation. Most importantly, it created the opportunity for them to experience a different relationship across generations. It was the case that participants in my study, as many people in the UK, did not have often the chance to engage in conversation, let alone to establish a regular relationship, with someone from a different generation (Radford et al., 2018). This lack of interaction occurs because institutional and social organisations make it next to impossible for them to converge in physical spaces, and also because spatial age-segregation feeds into media representations and views around age and differences of interests (Cohen, 2002; Lianos, 2013; Wheeler et al., 1997). My project combatted this trend and enabled the people taking part in it to get to know those from different ages in a friendly environment so that critical conversations around age could occur. I was pleased that the outcome was a sustained relationship, which for several participants is still ongoing.

With my study I wanted to answer three research questions, namely:

RQ 1. How can place-based storytelling be used to foster relationships and understanding across generations?

I found that intergenerational relationships are not free from tensions, but it is through critical dialogue that a more reciprocal relation is negotiated. In addition, place-based storytelling is one way to design an intervention where intergenerational relationships can emerge.

RQ 2. In what ways are technologies involved in the mediation of intergenerational relationships?

I found that a more participative design can better encourage and engage both older and younger adults, and having a facilitator who is responsive to participants' needs can contribute to this process. Also, technologies are helpful tools depending on the context.

RQ 3. What are the challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?

Finally, I found that institutional boundaries can be both an obstacle to overcome and a welcomed safeguarding measure; and having a CoP with critical pedagogy approach provided me the theoretical tools to design and evaluate this intergenerational intervention.

8.1 Limitations of the study

I am aware that there are some limitations to the study. For instance, as Janesick (2010) suggested, my role as a researcher in guiding the critical dialogue and interpreting the participants' narratives raises social justice questions, such as the way in which I presented the results of my study and how participants have been represented here. There are further issues around the inclusion of participants' voice, as Janesick has also argued, but despite the challenges, I have tried to be transparent of my positionality throughout, to make clear the extent to which the views stated here reflect my own understandings or those of participants.

When using personal narratives, claims can be difficult to generalise, and so it is relevant to acknowledge the situatedness of the research. In order to situate the study I have offered detailed accounts of the conditions in which this research project was run. Informed by my AR design I carried out an initial analysis to identify the conditions of intergenerational practice, globally and locally to assess the possible impact of the research tools I devised. I sought to understand younger and older adults' motivations to share their personal narratives around experience in Bristol in order to help me design successful interventions to appeal to the participants. I explored how this project could be conducted in a democratic way. I sought to

engage participants through activities that would be interesting for them and that would enable more equal relations.

8.2 Recommendations: What to look out for when designing for Intergenerational Programmes.

Creating opportunities for horizontal intergenerational encounters is not an easy task. However, those encounters have great importance and can benefit the wider community. In this final section I share some final reflections that could help practitioners, researchers and people in general, with their involvement in intergenerational work.

- Social identities are far more complex than we tend to admit, age is another axis of the intricate social self. And we need to approach intergenerational practice with the mind of recognising this complexity. In my study I caught a glimpse of the heterogenous and divers age cohorts, but there is a lot of material that has been left unexplored in my work, for example, regarding the interplay of identities.
- Finding a common interest between generations can provide a strong foundation from which to build connections. In my study, having Bristol at the core of our story telling meant that there was an easy gateway for the relationships to build on to place-based storytelling. The situatedness of these exercises was therefore a fertile ground for a project like this to succeed.
- Investing in designing and running a programme with a participatory ethos might seem ambitious, however, it is worth investing resources in programmes that will have a lasting positive effect in participants and the community.

REFERENCES

Adams, L. & Kirova, A. (2006). *Global Migration and Education: Schools, Children, and Families*. Routledge.

Adler, P. S. (2001). Market, hierarchy, and trust: The knowledge economy and the future of capitalism. *Organization science*, *12*(2), 215-234.

Adekunle, A. (2015). How do you end racism in a generation? In R. M. Vanderbeck, and N. Worth (Eds.), *Intergenerational Space* (169-182). Routledge.

Al-Qeisi, K., Dennis, C., Alamanos, E. & Jayawardhena, C. (2014). Website design quality and usage behavior: Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology. *Journal of Business Research, 67*(11), 2282-90.

Alheit, P. & Dausien, B. (2007). Lifelong learning and biography: A competitive dynamic between the macro and the micro level of education. In L. West, P. Alheit, A. S. Andersen and B. Merrill (Eds.), *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European perspectives.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Alheit, P., West, L., Andersen, A. S. & Merrill, B. (Eds.) (2007). *Using Biographical and Life History Approaches in the Study of Adult and Lifelong Learning: European Perspectives.*

Allen, B. (1992). Story in oral history: Clues to historical consciousness. *The Journal of American History, 79*(2), 606-11.

Altman, I. & Zube, E. H. (Eds.) (1989). *Public Places and Spaces.* New York: Plenum Press.

Ariès, P. (1962). *Centuries of Childhood*. London: Penguin.

Aronson, J. (1994). A pragmatic view of thematic analysis. *The Qualitative Report, 2(1),* http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/BackIssues/QR2-1/aronson.html.

Atkinson, R. (1998). *The life story interview*. Sage.

Atkinson, M. P., Kivett, V. R. & Campbell, R. T. (1986). Intergenerational solidarity: an examination of a theoretical model. *Journal of Gerontology, 41*(3), 408-16.

Balch, G. I. & Mertens, D. M. (1999). Focus Group Design and Group Dynamics: Lessons from Deaf and Hard of Hearing Participants. *American Journal of Evaluation, 20*(2), 265-77.

Banks, S. (2011). Ethics in an age of austerity: Social work and the evolving New Public Management. *Journal of Social Intervention: Theory and Practice, 20*(2), 5-23.

Banks, S., Armstrong, A., Carter, K., Graham, H., Hayward, P., Henry, A., Holland, T., Holmes, C., Lee, A., McNulty, A., Moore, N., Nayling, N., Stokoe, A. & Strachan, A. (2013). Everyday ethics in community-based participatory research. *Contemporary Social Science, 8*(3), 263-77.

Barton, D. & Tusting, K. (2005). Introduction. In D. Barton and K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond Communities of Practice* (1-13). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bazley, M. & Graham, H. (2012). Experiment, share, revise: Learning through oral history and digital storytelling. *Oral History, 40*(2), 109-13.

Begoray, D. L. & Banister, E. M. (2010) Reflexivity. In Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (Vols. 1-0) (pp. 789-790). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412957397

Benmayor, R. (2008). Digital storytelling as a signature pedagogy for the new humanities. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 7*(2), 188-204.

Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* New York: Anchor Books.

Berman, A., Snyder, S., Kozier, B. & Erb, G. (2007). *Kozier & Erb's Fundamentals of Nursing: Concepts, Process, and Practice Eighth Edition Companion Website.* http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/3918/4012970/NursingTools/ch23_CultViewElders_407.pdf

Bernard, M. & Phillips, J. (2000). The challenge of ageing in tomorrow's Britain. *Ageing and Society, 20*(1), 33-54.

Bernard, M. & Scharf, T. (Eds.) (2007). *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies.* Policy Press.

Bickers, R. A. , Carstairs, J. A., Coates, P. A., Cole, T. J., Horton, M., Insole, P., Mackenzie, R., McLellan, J., Miller, K. F., Piccini, A. A., Smith, S., Taylor, C., & Thorne, D. (2012). Know your Bristol: Bristol's history, people's stories. Centre

for Public Engagement, University of Bristol. http://www.bristol.ac.uk/publicengagement/pdfs/knowyourbristol.pdf

Bogdan, R. & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bornat, J. (2001). Reminiscence and oral history: parallel universes or shared endeavour? *Ageing and Society, 21*(2), 219-41.

Bornat, J. (2004). Oral history. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice* (34-47). Sage Publications.

Bowers, C. A. (2008). Why a critical pedagogy of place is an oxymoron. *Environmental Education Research*, *14*(3), 325-335.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bradbury-Huang H. (2010). What is good action research? *Action Research Journal, 8*(1), 1-11.

Bradbury-Huang H. (2014). Quality in Action Research. In M. Brydon-Miller, D. Coghlan and P. Gaya (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Action Research.* Sage Publications.

Bradbury, H. (Ed.). (2015). *The Sage Handbook of Action Research*. Sage Publications.

Bradbury, H. & Mainemelis, C. (2001). Learning History and Organizational Praxis. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 10*(4), 340-357.

Bradford, S. & Cullen, F. (2011). *Research and Research Methods for Youth Practitioners.* Routledge.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Buckingham, D. (2011). Foreword. In M. Thomas, (Ed.), *Deconstructing digital natives: Young people, technology, and the new literacies* (ix-xi). Taylor & Francis.

Byrskog, S. (2002). *Story As History-History As Story: The Gospel Tradition In The Context Of Ancient Oral History.* Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

Bytheway, B., Ward, R., Holland, C. & Peace, S. (2007). The road to an age inclusive society. In M. Bernard, and T. Scharf, (Eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies* (105-124). Policy Press.

Cahill, C. (2004). Defying gravity? Raising consciousness through collective research. *Children's Geographies*, *2*(2), 273-286.

Cahill, C. (2007a). The personal is political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research. *Gender, place and culture*, *14*(3), 267-292.

Cahill, C. (2007b). Doing research with young people: Participatory research and the rituals of collective work. *Children's Geographies*, *5*(3), 297-312.

Cai, D., Giles, H. & Noels, K. (1998). Elderly perceptions of communication with older and younger adults in China: Implications for mental health. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 26*(1), 32-51.

Cammarota, J., & Romero, A. (2006). A critically compassionate intellectualism for Latina/o students: Raising voices above the silencing in our schools. *Multicultural education*, *14*(2), 16-23.

Calasanti, T., Slevin, K. & King, N. (2006). Ageism and Feminism: From "Et Cetera" to Center. *NWSA Journal, 18*(1), 13-30.

Carr W. & Kemmis S. (1986). *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research.* Falmer Press, London.

Carter, V. (2007). *The Big Together: Camden Intergenerational Arts Project.* London: Camden Council.

Cattell, V. (2004). Social networks as mediators between the harsh circumstances of people's lives, and their lived experience of health and well-being. In C. Phillipson, G. Allan and D. Morgan (Eds.), *Social Networks and Social Exclusion* (142-61). Farnham: Ashgate.

Castells, M. (2000a). *The Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture.* Blackwell Publishing.

Castells, M. (2000b). *End of Millennium: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture.* Blackwell Publishing.

Castells, M. (2000c). Materials for an exploratory theory of the network society. The *British Journal of Sociology, 51*(1), 5-24.

Castells, M. (2004). The *Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture.* Blackwell Publishing.

Chomsky, N. (2002). *Media control: The spectacular achievements of propaganda* (Vol. 7). Seven Stories Press.

Chonody, J. & Wang, D. (2013). Connecting Older Adults to the Community Through Multimedia: An Intergenerational Reminiscence Program. *Activities, Adaptation & Aging, 37*(1), 79-93.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2017). *Research Methods in Education.* Routledge.

Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics.* London: Routledge.

Coster, W. (2007). Social Constructions of Childhood. *Childhood and Youth Studies,* 3-12.

Cox, R. W. (1981). Social forces, states and world orders: beyond international relations theory. *Millennium*, *10*(2), 126-155.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* Sage Publications.

Cross-Durrant, A. (2006). Basil Yeaxlee and lifelong education: caught in time. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *From Adult Education to the Learning Society 21 years from the International Journal of Lifelong Education. Education Heritage Series* (107-121). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process.* Sage Publications.

Cucinelli, G., Davidson, A., Romero, M. & Matheson, T. (2018). Intergenerational Learning Through a Participatory Video Game Design Workshop. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 16*(1-2), 146-165.

Czaja, S. J., Charness, N., Fisk, A. D., Hertzog, C., Nair, S. N., Rogers, W. A. & Sharit, J. (2006). Factors predicting the use of technology: findings from the Center for Research and Education on Aging and Technology Enhancement (CREATE). *Psychology and Aging, 21*(2), 333-52.

Davis, D. (2011). Intergenerational digital storytelling: a sustainable community initiative with inner-city residents. *Visual Communication, 10*(4), 527-540.

De Lone, R. H. (1979). *Small Futures: Children, Inequality, and The Limits of Liberal Reform.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

De Mause, L. (Ed.) (1974). *The History of Childhood.* London: Souvenir Press.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, (Eds.), *Handbook Of Qualitative Research* (1-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Desouza, E. (2007). Intergenerational Interaction Through Reminiscence Processes. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 5*(1), 39-56.

DiMaggio, P. & Hargittai, E. (2001). *From the 'digital divide' to 'digital inequality': studying internet use as penetration increases. Working Paper 15.* Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies. Princeton University.

Duvall, J. & Zint, M. (2007). A Review of Research on the Effectiveness of Environmental Education in Promoting Intergenerational Learning. *The Journal of Environmental Education 38*(4), 14-24.

Dyer, J., & Nobeoka, K. (2000). Creating and managing a high-performance knowledge-sharing network: The Toyota case. *Strategic Management Journal, 21,* 345-367.

Ellis, C. & Bochner, A. P. (Eds.) (1996). *Composing Ethnography: Alternative Forms of Qualitative Writing.* Rowman Altamira.

Ellis, S. W., & Granville, G. (1999). Developing Theory into Practice: Researching Intergenerational Exchange. *Education and Ageing*, *14*(3), 231-48.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Situated learning at the threshold of the new millennium. In J. Bliss, R. Säljö and P. Light (Eds.). *Learning sites: social and technological resources for learning* (249-257). Emerald Group Publishing.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: Norton.

Estes, C. L., Biggs, S. & Phillipson, C. (2003). *Social Theory, Social Policy and Ageing: A Critical Introduction.* Open University Press.

Facer, K., Horner, L. & Manchester, H. (2014). *Towards the All-Age-Friendly City: Working Paper 1 of the Bristol All-Age Friendly City Group.* University of Bristol & Future Cities Catapult.

Feldman, S., Mahoney, H. & Seedsman, T. (2003). School-Based Intergenerational Programs: Laying the Foundations for Sustainability. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(2).

Fine, M., & Torre, M. E. (2004). Re-membering exclusions: Participatory action research in public institutions. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *1*(1), 15-37.

Flash, C. (2015). The Intergenerational Learning Center, Providence Mount St. Vincent, Seattle. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 13*(4), 338-341.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Freire, P. (1988). Creating Alternative Research Methods: Learning to do it by doing it. In S. Kemmis & R. McTaggart. *The Action Research Reader* (291-313). Geelong, Australia: Deakin University Press.

Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Revised edition. London: Penguin Books.

Freire, P. (2004). *Pedagogy of the Indignation.* London: Paradigm.

Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Freeman, S., Martin, L., Nash, C., Schafenacker, N. & Hausknect, S. (2018). Promoting Intergenerational Relationships Using Digital Storytelling In A First Nations Community*. Innovation in Aging, 2*(1), 371.

Fried, M. (2000). Continuities and discontinuities of place. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 20*(3), 193-205.

Gaggioli, A., Morganti, L., Bonfiglio, S., Scaratti, C., Cipresso, P., Serino, S. & Riva, G. (2014). Intergenerational Group Reminiscence: A Potentially Effective Intervention to Enhance Elderly Psychosocial Wellbeing and to Improve Children's Perception of Aging. *Educational Gerontology, 40*(7), 486-498.

Gallagher, J. J. & Hogan, K. (2000). Intergenerational, Community-Based Learning and Science Education. *Journal Of Research In Science Teaching, 37*(2), 107-108.

Gearty, M. R., Bradbury-Huang, H. & Reason, P. (2015). Learning history in an open system: Creating histories for sustainable futures. *Management Learning, 46*(1), 44-66.

Gee, J. P. (2005). Semiotic Social Spaces and Affinity Spaces. In D. Barton and K. Tusting (Eds.). *Beyond Communities of Practice* (214-32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic books.

Gibson, F. (2006). Intergenerational reminiscence work. In F. Gibson (Ed.). *Reminiscence and Recall: A Practical Guide to Reminiscence Work.* London: Age Concern.

González, N., & Amanti, C. (1997). Teaching anthropological methods to teachers: The transformation of knowledge. *The teaching of anthropology: Problems, issues, and decisions*, 353-359.

González, N., Andrade, R., Civil, M., & Moll, L. (2001). Bridging funds of distributed knowledge: Creating zones of practices in mathematics. *Journal of Education for students placed at risk*, *6*(1-2), 115-132.

González, N., & Moll, L. C. (2002). Cruzando el puente: Building bridges to funds of knowledge. *Educational Policy*, *16*(4), 623-641.

Gonzalez, N. E., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). Introduction: theorizing practices. *Unknown Journal*, 1-24.

González, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (Eds.). (2006). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. Routledge.

Gonzalez, N., Moll, L. C., Tenery, M. F., Rivera, A., Rendon, P., Gonzales, R., & Amanti, C. (1995). Funds of knowledge for teaching in Latino households. *Urban Education*, *29*(4), 443-470.

Goodson, I. F., Biesta, G., Tedder, M. & Adair, N. (2010). *Narrative Learning.* Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Goodson, I. F. (2013). *Developing Narrative Theory: Life Histories and Personal Representation.* Routledge.

Gory, L., Ward, R. & Sherman, S. (1985) The ecology of aging: neighbourhood satisfaction in an older population. *The Sociological Quarterly 26*(3).

Gottlieb, A. (2015). *The Afterlife Is Where We Come From.* University of Chicago Press.

Gouthro, P. A. (2006). Education for sale: at what cost? Lifelong learning and the market place. In P. Jarvis (Ed.). *From adult education to the learning society 21 years from the International Journal of Lifelong Education* (225-240). Education Heritage Series, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Granville, G. (2002). *A Review of Intergenerational Practice in the UK*. Available at: http://www.centreforip.org.uk/res/documents/publication/Review of IP in UK.pdf [Accessed 20 January 2016].

Gray, D. E. (2009). *Doing Reserach in the Real World.* Sage Publications.

Green, L., Cullen, F. & Bradford, S. (2011). Working as a practitioner-researcher. In Bradford, S. and Cullen, F. (Eds.), *Research and Research Methods for Youth Practitioners* (5-24). Abingdon: Routledge.

Greengross, S. (2003). Intergenerational programmes as a global approach to social issues. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 11-5.

Gruenewald, D. (2002). Teaching and learning with Thoreau: Honoring critique, experimentation, wholeness, and the places where we live. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*(4), 515-542.

Gruenewald, D. A. (2003a). The best of both worlds: A critical pedagogy of place. *Educational researcher*, *32*(4), 3-12.

Gruenewald, D. A. (2003b). Foundations of place: A multidisciplinary framework for place-conscious education. *American educational research journal*, *40*(3), 619-654.

Gruenewald, D. A., Koppelman, N., & Elam, A. (2007). Our place in history: Inspiring place-based social history in schools and communities. *Journal of Museum Education*, *32*(3), 231-240.

Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (1999). Constructionist perspectives on aging. *Handbook of Theories of Aging,* 287-305.

Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (2000). *Ageing and Everyday Life.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Gutiérrez, K. D. (2002). Studying cultural practices in urban learning communities. *Human development*, *45*(4), 312-321.

Gutiérrez, K., Baquedano-López, P., & Alvarez, H. (2001). Literacy as hybridity: Moving beyond bilingualism in urban classrooms. *The best for our children: Critical perspectives on literacy for Latino students*, 122-141.

Gutiérrez, K. D., Baquedano-López, P., & Tejeda, C. (1999). Rethinking diversity: Hybridity and hybrid language practices in the third space. *Mind, culture, and activity*, *6*(4), 286-303.

Gutiérrez, K. D., & Rogoff, B. (2003). Cultural ways of learning: Individual traits or repertoires of practice. *Educational researcher*, *32*(5), 19-25.

Haas, T., & Nachtigal, P. (1998). *Place value*. Charleston, WV: ERIC Press.

Hackett, E. J., Amsterdamska, O., Lynch, M. & Wajcman, J. (2008). The *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies.* The MIT Press.

Hagestad, G. O. & Uhlenberg, P. (2005). The social separation of old and young: a root of ageism. *Journal of Social Issues, 61*, 343-60.

Hagestad, G. O. & Uhlenberg, P. (2007). The impact of demographic changes on relations between age groups and generations: a comparative perspective. In K., W. Schaie and P. Uhlenberg, (Eds.), *Social Structures: Demographic Change and The Well-Being of Older Adults* (239-61). New York: Springer Publishing.

Halcli, A. & Webster, F. (2000). Inequality and Mobilization in the Information Age. *European Journal of Social Theory, 3*(1), 67-81.

Hannay, M. & Fretwell, C. (2011). The higher education workplace: Meeting the needs of multiple generations. *Research in Higher Education Journal, 10,* 1.

Hardill, I. (2015). The intergenerational help desk. In R. M. Vanderbeck and N. Worth, (Eds.), *Intergenerational Space* (273-85). Routledge.

Harris, S. R. & Shelswell, N. (2005). Moving Beyond Communities of Practice in Adult Basic Education. In D. Barton and K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond Communities of Practice* (158-79). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hatton, N. & Smith, D. (1995). Reflection in teacher education: Towards definition and implementation. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 11*(1), 33-49.

Hatton-Yeo, A. (2006). *Intergenerational Programmes: An Introduction and Examples of Practice.* Stoke-on-Trent: Beth Johnson Foundation.

Hatton-Yeo, A. & Ohsako, T. (2000). *Intergenerational Programmes: Public Policy and Research Implications-An International Perspective.* United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Hamburg, I. for E. Hamburg. http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/publications/uiestud24.shtml [Accessed 12 February 2016].

Hauser, P. M. (1959). Demography in relation to sociology. *American Journal of Sociology, 65*(2), 169-173.

Helliwell, J. F. & Putnam, R. D. (2004). The *Social Context of Well-Being.* Philososophical transactions of the Royal Society of London.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2010). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. Random House.

Herring, S. C. (2008). Questioning the generational Divide: Technological Exoticism and Adult Constructions of Online Youth Identity. In D. Buckingham (Ed.) Youth, Identity, and Digital Media. *The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning* (71-920). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Hessler B. & Lambert J. (2017) Threshold Concepts in Digital Storytelling: Naming What We Know About Storywork. In Jamissen G., Hardy P., Nordkvelle Y. and Pleasants H. (Eds.), *Digital Storytelling in Higher Education. Digital Education and Learning* (19-35). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Heydon, R. M. (2007). Making meaning together: multi-modal literacy learning opportunities in an inter-generational art programme. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *39*(1), 35-62.

Heydon, R. M. (2012). Multimodal communication and identities options in an intergenerational art class. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *10*(1), 51-69.

Heydon, R., & O'Neill, S. (2014). Songs in our hearts: Affordances and constraints of an intergenerational multimodal arts curriculum. *International Journal of Education & the Arts*, *15*(16).

Heydon, R., & O'Neill, S. (2017). Children, elders, and multimodal arts curricula: Semiotic possibilities and the imperative of relationship. In *Multimodal Perspectives of Language, Literacy, and Learning in Early Childhood* (pp. 149-167). Springer, Cham.

Heydon, R., & Rowsell, J. (2015). Phenomenology and literacy studies. *Routledge handbook of literacy studies*, 454-471.

Heywood, C. (2001) *A History of Childhood.* Cambridge: Polity.

Hockey, J. & James, A. (1993). *Growing up and Growing Old.* London: Sage Publications.

Hodkinson, P. (2008). Grounded theory and inductive research.

Hoffmann-Nowotny, H. J. (2000). Demography and sociology. In Z. Pavlik (Ed.), *Position of Demography Among Other Disciplines* (73-79). Department of Demography and Geodemography, Charles University. Prague.

Holland, D. & Lave, J. (2001). History in person: an Introduction. In D. Holland and J. Lave (Eds.), History in *Person: Enduring Struggles: Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities* (1-32).

Holland D. & Lave J. (2009). Social practice theory and the historical production of persons. *Actio: An International Journal of Human Activity Theory, 2,* 1-15.

Holstein, M. B. & Minkler, M. (2007). Critical gerontology: Reflections for the 21st century. In M. Bernard, and T. Scharf (Eds), *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies* (13-26). Policy Press.

hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress*. Routledge.

hooks, B. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope* (Vol. 36). Psychology Press.

Hughes, M. E. & O'Rand, M. A. (2004). *The Lives and Times of The Baby Boomers.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hutchby, I. (2001). Technologies, texts and affordances. *Sociology, 35*(2), 441-56.

Huvila, I., Anderson, T. D., Jansen, E. H., McKenzie, P. & Worrall, A. (2017). Boundary objects in information science. *Journal of the Association for Information Science & Technology, 68*(8), 1807-1822.

Jarrott, S. E. (2011). Where have we been and where are we going? Content analysis of evaluation research of intergenerational programs. *Journal of Intergenerational relationships*, *9*(1), 37-52.

Jarrott, S., & Bruno, K. (2007). Shared site intergenerational programs: A case study. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 26(3), 239–257.

Jarrott, S. E. & Smith, C. L. (2011). The complement of research and theory in practice: Contact theory at work in nonfamilial intergenerational programs. *The Gerontologist, 51*(1), 112-21.

Jarvis, P. (Ed.) (2006). *From Adult Education to the Learning Society 21 years from the International Journal of Lifelong Education. Education Heritage Series.* Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Jenks, C. (1996). *Childhood*. London: Routledge.

Johnston, R. (2006). Adult learning for citizenship: towards a reconstruction of the social purpose tradition. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *From Adult Education to the Learning Society 21 years from the International Journal of Lifelong Education* (408-28). Education Heritage Series. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Jones, K. (2020). The Problem of an Aging Global Population, Shown by Country. *Visual Capitalist (blog)* https://www.visualcapitalist.com/aging-global-population-problem/

Jones, M. , Anderson, C., Bickers, R., Carstairs, J., Cole, T., Eisenstadt, N. (Ed.), Gulliver, M., Insole, P., McLellan, J., Miller, K., Nourse, N., Piccini, A., Routledge, J., Skinner, R., Thomas, M., Williams, J., & Julian, W. (2015). Know Your Bristol On The Move. Poster session presented at Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School 2015, Oxford, United Kingdom. http://www.mapyourbristol.org.uk

Kaplan, M. S. (2002). Intergenerational Programs in Schools: Considerations of Form and Function. *International Review of Education, 48*(5), 305-334.

Kaplan, M. & Brintnall-Peterson, M. (2001/2002). In search of an intergenerational agenda for Cooperative Extension. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement, 7*(1/2), 127-44.

Kaplan, M., Kusano, A., Tsuji, I. & Hisamichi, S. (1998). *Intergenerational Programs: Support for Children, Youth, and Elders in Japan.* SUNY Press.

Karsten, H., Lyytinen, K., Hurskainen, M., & Koskelainen, T. (2001). Crossing boundaries and conscripting participation: representing and integrating knowledge in a paper machinery project. *European Journal of Information Systems*, *10*(2), 89-98.

Katz, R. & Lowenstein, A. (2010). Theoretical perspectives on intergenerational solidarity, conflict and ambivalence. In M. Izuhara (Ed.). *Ageing and Intergenerational Relations: Family Reciprocity From a Global Perspective* (29-56). Bristol: Policy Press.

Keating, M. C. (2005). The person in the doing: Negotiating the experience of self. In D. Barton and K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond Communities of Practice* (105-138). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemmis, S. (2001). Exploring the Relevance of Critical Theory for Action Research: Emancipatory Action Research in the Footsteps of Jürgen Habermas. In P. Reason and H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of Action Research* (94-105).

Kemmis, S. & McTaggart, R. (2005). Participatory Action Research: Communicative Action and the Public Sphere. In N. K. Denzin, and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (559-604). London: Sage Publications.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R. & Nixon, R. (2015). Critical Theory and Critical Participatory Action Research. In H. Bradbury (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Action Research.* Sage Publications.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. & Kesby, M. (Eds.) (2007). *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place.* Routledge.

Krimerman, L. (2001). Participatory Action Research Should Social Inquiry Be Conducted Democratically? *Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 31*(1), 60-82.

Kuehne, V. (2003a). The state of our art: Intergenerational program research and evaluation: Part one. *Journal ofIntergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 145-161.

Kuehne, V. (2003b). The state of our art: Intergenerational program research and evaluation: Part two. *Journal ofIntergenerational Relationships, 1*(2), 79-93.

Kuehne, V. S. & Melville, J. (2014) The State of Our Art: A Review of Theories Used in Intergenerational Program Research (2003–2014) and Ways Forward. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 12*(4), 317-346.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. & Svend B. (2009). Epistemological Issues of Interviewing. In S. Kvale and S. Brinkmann (Eds.), *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Sage Publications.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1990). Like lightning in a bottle: Attempting to capture the pedagogical excellence of successful teachers of Black students. *Internation Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *3*(4), 335-344.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American educational research journal*, *32*(3), 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2014). Culturally relevant pedagogy 2.0: aka the remix. *Harvard Educational Review*, *84*(1), 74-84.

Lancy, D. F. (2008). *The anthropology of childhood: Cherubs, chattel, changelings*. Cambridge University Press.

Lawson, D. F., Stevenson, K. T., Peterson, M. N., Carrier, S. J., Strnad, R. & Seekamp, E. (2018). Intergenerational learning: Are children key in spurring climate action? *Global Environmental Change, 53*, 204-208.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (2005). Practice, person, social world. In H. Daniels (Ed.), *An Introduction to Vygotsky* (149-56). London Routledge.

Lee, A. Y. L. & Wang, K. J. (2019) Young People's Media Use and Social Participation in Hong Kong: A Perspective of Digital Use Divide. In E. Morrell & J. Rowsell (Eds.), *Stories from Inequity to Justice in Literacy Education*. (pp. 110-129) New York: Routledge.

Lenette, C. (2017). *Using Digital Storytelling in Participatory Research with Refugee Women.* SAGE Research Methods Cases.

Lianos, M. (Ed.) (2013). *Dangerous Others, Insecure Societies: Fear and Social Division.* Routledge.

Lin, I.-F. & Wu, H.-S. (2014). Intergenerational Exchange and Expected Support Among the Young-Old. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 76*(2), 261-271.

Lindvig I. K. (2017). Building Bridges: Digital Storytelling as a Participatory Research Approach. In Jamissen G., Hardy P., Nordkvelle Y. and Pleasants H. (Eds.), *Digital Storytelling in Higher Education. Digital Education and Learning.* Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Loe, M. (2013). The digital life history project: intergenerational collaborative research. *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education, 34*(1), 26-42.

Manchester, H. & Facer, K. (2015a). A *Manifesto For All-Age Friendly Cities: Working Paper 2 of The Bristol All-Age Friendly City Group.* University of Bristol & Future Cities Catapult.

Manchester, H. & Facer, K. (2015b). Digital curation: Learning and legacy in later life. *E-Learning and Digital Media, 12*(2), 242-58.

Mannion, G. (2012). Intergenerational Education: The Significance of Reciprocity and Place. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 10*(4), 386-399.

Mannion, G., & Adey, C. (2011). Place-based education is an intergenerational practice. *Children Youth and Environments*, *21*(1), 35-58.

Mannion, G., Adey, C., & Lynch, J. (2010). *Intergenerational place-based education: Where schools, communities, and nature meet.* Stirling: University of Stirling Report for Scottish Centre for Intergenerational Practice.

Mannion, G., & Gilbert, J. (2015). Place-responsive intergenerational education. In *Intergenerational space* (pp. 228-241). Routledge.

Martins, T., Midão, L., Veiga, S. M., Dequech, L., Busse, G., Bertram, M., McDonald, A., Gilliland, G., Orte, C., Vives, M. & Costa, E. (2019). Intergenerational Programs Review: Study Design and Characteristics of Intervention, Outcomes, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 17*(1), 93-109.

Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a sociology for childhood: thinking from children's lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

McDonough, M. & Wheeler, C. (1998). *Toward School and Community Collaboration in Social Forestry: Lessons from The Thai Experience.* Washington, D.C.: Academy for Educational Development.

McIntyre, A. (2008). *Participatory Action Research.* Sage Publications.

Mead, M. (1978). *Culture and Commitment: The New Relationships Between the Generations in the 1970s.* Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Meade, K. (1995). Promoting Age Equality. *Generations Review*, *5*(3), 7-10.

Meimaris M. (2017). Intergenerational Digital Storytelling: Research and Applications of Digital Storytelling in Greece. In Jamissen G., Hardy P., Nordkvelle Y. and Pleasants H. (Eds.), *Digital Storytelling in Higher Education. Digital Education and Learning.* Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Mercken, C. (2002). Neighbourhood-Reminiscence: Integrating Generations and Cultures in the Netherlands. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 81-94.

Mertens, D. M. (1998). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative & qualitative approaches*. Sage Publications.

Mertens, D. M. (2003). *Research and Evaluation Methods in Special Education.* Corwin Press.

Mertens, D. M. (2010). Transformative mixed methods research. *Qualitative inquiry*, *16*(6), 469-474.

Moll, L. C. (Ed.). (1992). *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology*. Cambridge University Press.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into practice*, *31*(2), 132-141.

Montgomery, H. (2006). *Different Cultures, Different Childhoods*. Open University, [online] Available at: http://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/different-cultures-different-childhoods [Accessed 13 March 2016].

Montgomery, H. (2009). Children within Anthropology: Lessons from the Past, Childhood in the Past, 2(1), 3-14.

Morrell, E. & Rowsell, J. (Eds.) (2019). *Stories from Inequity to Justice in Literacy Education*. New York: Routledge.

North, M. S. & Fiske, S. T. (2012). An inconvenienced youth? Ageism and its potential intergenerational roots. *Psychological Bulletin, 138*(5), 982.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2019). *Changing Age Structure: More People At Older Ages.* Accessed 20 January 2020. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationprojections/bulletins/nationalpopulationprojections/2018based

O'Sullivan, J., Ricciardi, F. & Roth, S. (2019). Five myths about population, aging and environmental sustainability. *Asian Development Blog Straight Talk from Development Experts* https://blogs.adb.org/blog/five-myths-about-population-aging-and-environmental-sustainability

Qvortrup, J., Corsaro, W. A. & Honig, M. S. (2009). Why Social Studies of Childhood? An introduction to the Handbook. In J. Qvortrup, W. A. Corsaro, M. S. Honig and G. Valentine (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (1-18). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Parekh, B. (2008). *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Pasmore, W. (2001). Action Research in the workplace: the socio-technical perspective. In P. Reason and H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice* (38-48). Sage Publications.

Passey, D. (2014). Intergenerational learning practices—Digital leaders in schools. *Education and Information Technologies, 19*(3), 473-94.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal, experiential perspective. *Qualitative social work*, *1*(3), 261-283.

Payne, G. (2013). An introduction to 'Social Divisions'. In G. Payne (Ed.). *Social divisions*. (pp. 1-24). Macmillan International Higher Education.

Peterat, L. & Mayersmith, J. (2006). Farm Friends. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships 4*(1), 107-116.

Phillipson, C. (1998). *Reconstructing Old Age.* London: Sage Publications.

Phillipson, C. (2010). Globalisation, Global Ageing and Intergenerational Change. In M. Izuhara (Ed.), *Ageing and Intergenerational Relations: Family Reciprocity From A Global Perspective* (13-28). Bristol: Policy Press.

Phillipson, C. (2015). The Political Economy of Longevity: Developing New Forms of Solidarity for Later Life. *The Sociological Quarterly, 56*(1), 80-100.

Priestly, J. B. & Hayes, C. L. (2003). An Observational Study in Developing an Intergenerational Shared Site Program: Challenges and Insights. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1). http://www.haworthpressinc.com/store/product.asp?sku=J194

Prinsloo, M. (2005). The new literacies as placed resources: research: information and communication technologies. *Perspectives in Education*, *23*(1), 87-98.

Radford, K., Gould, R., Vecchio, N. & Fitzgerald, A. (2018). Unpacking intergenerational (IG) programs for policy implications: A systematic review of the literature. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 16*(3), 302-329.

Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2001). Introduction. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. (pp. 1-10). Sage.

Reese, L. (2012). Storytelling in Mexican Homes: Connections Between Oral and Literacy Practices. *Bilingual Research Journal, 35*(3), 277-293.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative Methods For The Human Sciences.* Chicago: Sage Publications.

Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical Research.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Robertson, S. L. (2009). Globalization, education governance, and citizenship regimes: new democratic deficits and social injustices. *Handbook of Social Justice in Education,* 542-553.

Robertson, S. L., & Dale, R. (2009). The World Bank, the IMF, and the possibilities of critical education. *The Routledge international handbook of critical education*, 23-35.

Romei, V. (2020). Financial Times. *In charts: Europe's demographic time-bomb* https://www.ft.com/content/49e1e106-0231-11ea-b7bc-f3fa4e77dd47

Rosebrook, V. & Larkin, E. (2003). Introducing Standards and Guidelines. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 133-44.

Rosenberg, E., Layne, L. E. & Power, M. (1997). Intergenerational Studies' Growing Pains. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 28*(1-2), 17-31.

Rowles, G. D. (1978). *Prisoners of Space?: Exploring The Geographical Experience of Older People.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Rowles, G. D. (1983). Place and personal identity in old age: observations from Appalachia. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 3*(4), 299-313.

Ryu, H. & Parsons, D. (2009). Designing learning activities with mobile technologies. In H. Ryu and D. Parsons (Ed.), *Innovative Mobile Learning: Techniques and Technologies* (1-20). IGI Global.

SAfAIDS & Women'sNet (2012). *Enhancing Good Practice Documentation with Digital Storytelling: A Reference Manual for Empowering Community-Based Organisations and Communities around HIV and Gender*.

Saraceno, C. (Ed.) (2008). *Families, Ageing and Social Policy: Intergenerational Solidarity in European Welfare States.* Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Scherger, S. (2012). Concepts of generation and their empirical application: From social formations to narratives–a critical appraisal and some suggestions. *University of Manchester: CRESC Working Paper*, 44(117).

Seedsman, T. & Feldman, S. (2003). Living and learning together: a place for all ages. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 165-7.

Seefeldt, C. (1987). The effects of preschoolers' visits to a nursing home. *The Gerontologist, 27,* 228-232.

Sehrawat, S. & Jones, C. (2015). Digital Storytelling for Intergenerational Collaboration: A Tool for Student Engagement in Aging Research. *The Gerontologist, 55*(2), 215.

Selwyn, N. (2004). Reconsidering Political and Popular Understandings of the Digital Divide. *New Media and Society, 6*(3), 341-62.

Selwyn, N. (2009). The digital native – myth and reality. *Aslib Proceedings, 61*(4), 364-79.

Selwyn, N., Gorard, S., Furlong, J., & Madden, L. (2003). Older adults' use of information and communications technology in everyday life. *Ageing and society*, *23*, 561.

Sergeyevna M. L., Frolova, N. H. & Frolova, N. H. (2014). LMS projects: A platform for intergenerational e-learning collaboration. *Educ Inf Technol, 19,* 495-513.

Simándi, S. (2018). Intergenerational Learning - *Lifelong Learning, 8*(2), 63-71.

Simcox, D. (1998). *Social Security: The Ponzi Path to Dystopia.* In NPG forum series.

Smith, A. E. (2009). *Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods: Place Attachment and Social Exclusion.* Policy Press.

Smith, B. J. & Yeager, A. (1999). Intergenerational Communities. *Child & Youth Services, 20,* 1-2.

Springate, I., Atkinson, M. & Martin, K. (2008). *Intergenerational Practice: A Review of the Literature.*

Stanton, G. & Tench, P. (2003). Intergenerational Storyline Bringing the Generations Together in North Tyneside. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 71-80.

Star, S. L. (1989). The structure of ill-structured solutions: Boundary objects and heterogeneous distributed problem solving. In *Distributed artificial intelligence* (pp. 37-54). Morgan Kaufmann.

Star, S. L., & Griesemer, J. R. (1989). Institutional ecology,translations' and boundary objects: Amateurs and professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39. *Social studies of science*, *19*(3), 387-420.

Steinberg, L. (1999). *Adolescence.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Stringer, E. T. (1999). *Action Research.* Sage Publications.

Stuart, I., Deckert, P., McCutcheon, D., & Kunst, R. (1998). Case study: a leveraged learning network. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, *39*(4), 81.

Sugihara, S. & Evans, G. W. (2000). Place attachment and social support at continuing care retirement communities. *Environment and Behavior, 32*(3), 400-9.

Tan, M., Lee, S. S. & Hung, D. W. L., 2014. Digital storytelling and the nature of knowledge. *Education and Information Technologies, 19*(3), 623-35.

Tarrant, A. (2015). (Grand) paternal care practices and affective intergenerational encounters using Information Communication Technologies. In R. M. Vanderbeck and N. Worth (Eds.), *Intergenerational Space* (286-300). Routledge.

Torresgil, F. M. (2003). Perspectives on Intergenerational Aspects of Aging and Diversity. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 1*(1), 5-9.

Tudge, J. & Hogan, D. (2005). An Ecological Approach to Observations of Children's Everyday Lives. In S. Greene and D. Hogan (Eds.), *Researching Children's Experience: Approaches and Methods* (102-22).

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019: Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/423).

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division 3 (2012). *World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Table*. [Accessed 31 January 2015]. http://esa.un.org/wpp/Documentation/pdf/WPP2012_%20KEY%20FINDINGS.pdf

Valentine, G. (2015). Intergenerationality and prejudice. In R. M. Vanderbeck, and N. Worth (Eds.), *Intergenerational Space* (155-68). Routledge.

VanderVen, K. (2004). Intergenerational theory in society: Building on the past, questions for the future. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 2*(3/4), 75-94.

VanderVen, K. (2011). The road to intergenerational theory is under construction: A continuing story. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 9*(1), 22-36.

VanDer Zee, H. (2006). The learning society. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *From Adult Education to the Learning Society 21 years from the International Journal of Lifelong Education* (331-53). Education Heritage Series. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

van Dijk, J. & Hacker, K. (2003). The digital divide as a complex and dynamic phenomenon. *The Information Society, 19*(4), 315-26.

Velez-Ibanez, C. G., & Greenberg, J. B. (1992). *Schooling processes among US Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans: A comparative, distributive, and case study approach*. ERIC Clearinghouse.

Venkatesh, V., Morris, M. G., Davis, G. B. & Davis, F. D. (2003). User Acceptance of Information Technology: Toward a Unified View. *MIS Quarterly, 27*(3), 425-78.

Venkatesh, V., Thong, J. & Xu, X. (2012). Consumer acceptance and user of information technology: extending the unified theory of acceptance and use of technology. *MIS Quarterly, 36*(1), 157-78.

Vincent, J. A., & Phillips, I. (2013). Age and old age. In G. Payne (Ed.). *Social divisions*. (pp. 139-163). Macmillan International Higher Education.

Wacjman, J. (2002). Addressing technological change: the challenge of social theory. *Current Sociology, 50*(3), 347-63.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E., McDermott, R. A., & Snyder, W. (2002). *Cultivating communities of practice: A guide to managing knowledge*. Harvard business press.

Wells, K. (2015). *Childhood in a Global Perspective.* Cambridge: Polity.

Weststrate, N. M., Glück, J. & Ferrari, M. (2018). Intergenerational Storytelling As A Medium For The Social Transmission of Lived Wisdom. *Innovation in Aging, 2*(1), 586.

Wheeler, C., Gallagher, J., McDonough, M. & Soopokakit-Namfa, B. (1997a). Improving school community relations in Thailand. In W. Cummings and P. Altbach (Eds.), *The Challenge of Eastern Asian Education: Implications For America.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wheeler, C., McDonough, M., Gallagher, J., Soopokakit, B. & Duongsa, D. (1997b). Linking school change to community participation in community forestry: A guided innovation in Thailand. In D. Chapman, L. Mahlck, and A. Smulders (Eds.), *From Planning To Action: Government Initiatives For Improving School-Level Practice.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Winston, L., Kaplan M., Perlstein, S. & Tietze, R. (2001). *Grand Partners: Intergenerational Learning and Civic Renewal, K–6.* Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann.

Woodberry Down Memories Group (1989). *Woodberry Down Memories: The History of an LCC Housing Estate.* London: ILEA Education Resource Unit for Older People.

Ypsilanti, A., Vivas, A. B., Räisänen, T., Viitala, M., Ijäs, T. & Ropes, D. (2014). Are serious video games something more than a game? A review on the effectiveness of serious games to facilitate intergenerational learning. *Education and Information Technologies, 19*(3), 515-529.

Zelizer, V. A. (1985). *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Zwozdiak-Myers, P. (Ed.) (2007). *Childhood and Youth Studies.* Sage Publications.

APPENDIX A

i. Participant

Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno
db12354@bristol.ac.uk
Education (PhD)
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol

Information sheet

Dear Participant,

My name is Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno, I am a postgraduate student at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol in the United Kingdom. I am currently doing my PhD on "Bridging the intergenerational gap using technology to learn about Bristol". I am inviting you to take part in this study, which will consist of 10 different sessions of approximately 80 minutes each.

The aims of my research are:

- To understand young and old people's perceptions about other age groups living in Bristol based on their experiences
- To understand young and old people's motivations to share their personal narratives around experience in Bristol
- To explore people's development of relationships across different generations by using technology to digitise their memories/ knowledge
- To help sustaining a digital archive of the city of Bristol that is meaningful for its inhabitants.

You will be asked to collaborate with another participant in the production of material to upload to the web tool Map your Bristol and to share your experiences and reflections at the end of each session. During the sessions you will be asked to perform different activities in your pair. The activities will be explained in more detail during the sessions, broadly these are about:

1. Finding uploaded material in your neighbourhood

2. Discussing the material with your partner for the activity
3. Production and uploading of material of your own

The sessions will be observed and at the end, the discussions will be recorded in audio. In the last session you will be asked to discuss with the other participants your experiences and reflections of the whole activity. The interview will last about 30 minutes and will be recorded and transcribed. This information will only be used for the analysis process. Except for me, no one else will have access to the audio recordings. The information collected during this research will be safely stored and password protected in a computer which only can be accessed by me. In the study this information will be treated in strictest confidentiality and I will not provide any information that may reveal your identity.

In addition to my academic pursuit, I hope that the research will be valuable for people's knowledge of Bristol, for each participant's quality of life, as well as the development of community initiatives. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequence. If you have any queries regarding the web application, tasks, interviews or any other subject related to this study do not hesitate to contact me on the email provided at the beginning of this information sheet.

Thank you for your participation and support.

Kind regards,
Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno

ii. Parent/guardian

Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno
db12354@bristol.ac.uk
Education (PhD)
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol

Information sheet

Dear Parent/Guardian,

My name is Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno, I am a postgraduate student at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol in the United Kingdom. I am currently doing my PhD on "Bridging the intergenerational gap using technology to learn about Bristol". I am inviting your child to take part in the first phase of this study, which will consist of 10 different sessions of approximately 80 minutes each.

The aims of my research are:
- To understand young and old people's perceptions about other age groups living in Bristol based on their experiences
- To understand young and old people's motivations to share their personal narratives around experience in Bristol
- To explore people's development of relationships across different generations by using technology to digitise their memories/ knowledge
- To help sustaining a digital archive of the city of Bristol that is meaningful for its inhabitants.

The young participants will be asked to collaborate with an older participant in the production of material to upload to the web tool Map your Bristol and to share their experiences and reflections at the end of each session. During the sessions they will be asked to perform different activities in their pair. The activities will be explained in more detail during the sessions, broadly these are about:

1. Finding uploaded material in people's neighbourhood
2. Discussing the material with partner for the activity
3. Production and uploading of material of their own

The sessions will be observed and at the end, the discussions will be recorded in audio. In the last session students will be asked to discuss with the other participants their experiences and reflections of the whole activity. The interview will last about 30 minutes and will be recorded and transcribed. This information will only be used for the analysis process. Except for me, no one else will have access to the audio recordings. The information collected during this research will be safely stored and password protected in a computer which only can be accessed by me. In the study this information will be treated in strictest confidentiality and I will not provide any information that may reveal the participants' identity.

In addition to my academic pursuit, I hope that the research will be valuable for people's knowledge of Bristol, for each participant's quality of life, as well as the development of community initiatives. Participation is entirely voluntary and people can withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequence. If you have any queries regarding the web application, tasks, interviews or any other subject related to this study do not hesitate to contact me on the email provided at the beginning of this information sheet.

Thank you for your participation and support.

Kind regards,
Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno

iii. Head teacher

Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno
db12354@bristol.ac.uk
Education (PhD)
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol

Information sheet

Dear Head teacher,

My name is Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno, I am a postgraduate student at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol in the United Kingdom. I am currently doing my PhD on "Bridging the intergenerational gap using technology to learn about Bristol". I am inviting your institution to take part in this study, which will consist of 10 different sessions of approximately 80 minutes each.

The aims of my research are:

- To understand young and old people's perceptions about other age groups living in Bristol based on their experiences
- To understand young and old people's motivations to share their personal narratives around experience in Bristol
- To explore people's development of relationships across different generations by using technology to digitise their memories/ knowledge
- To help sustaining a digital archive of the city of Bristol that is meaningful for its inhabitants.

The students will be asked to collaborate with another participant in the production of material to upload to the web tool Map your Bristol and to share their experiences and reflections at the end of each session. During the sessions they will be asked to perform different activities in their pair. The activities will be explained in more detail during the sessions, broadly these are about:

1. Finding uploaded material in people's neighbourhood

2. Discussing the material with partner for the activity
3. Production and uploading of material of their own

The sessions will be observed and at the end, the discussions will be recorded in audio. In the last session students will be asked to discuss with the other participants their experiences and reflections of the whole activity. The interview will last about 30 minutes and will be recorded and transcribed. This information will only be used for the analysis process. Except for me, no one else will have access to the audio recordings. The information collected during this research will be safely stored and password protected in a computer which only can be accessed by me. In the study this information will be treated in strictest confidentiality and I will not provide any information that may reveal the participant's identity.

In addition to my academic pursuit, I hope that the research will be valuable for students' education, for each participant's quality of life, as well as the development of community initiatives. Participation is entirely voluntary and people can withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequence. If you have any queries regarding the web application, tasks, interviews or any other subject related to this study do not hesitate to contact me on the email provided at the beginning of this information sheet.

Thank you for your participation and support.

Kind regards,
Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno

APPENDIX B

i. Participant

University of BRISTOL

Consent Form

"I have read and understood the information about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions and get satisfactory answers. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any consequence. I understand who will have access to the information provided and what will happen to the data as soon as the dissertation will end. I am aware that the research is following the ethical framework used by the Graduate School of Education at Bristol University and I confirm that I am willing to take part as a volunteer participant in this research".

YES NO
(If yes, please tick the boxes below.)

I agree to be interviewed	
I allow to be assigned a pseudonym so that quotes from the interview can be used in the research report.	
I consent to be audio recorded during the interviews	
I consent to be audio recorded during the sessions	
I consent to have the data collected from this research to be published in academic journals and publications in conferences.	
I authorise the researcher to use the materials produced during the session	

_____ _____

Participant name Participant signature

Date _____

ii. Parent/guardian

University of BRISTOL

Consent Form

"I have read and understood the information about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions and get satisfactory answers. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any consequence. I understand who will have access to the information provided and what will happen to the data as soon as the dissertation will end. I am aware that the research is following the ethical framework used by the Graduate School of Education at Bristol University and I confirm that I am willing to take part as a volunteer participant in this research".

YES NO
(If yes, please tick the boxes below.)

I allow my child to take part in your research	
I allow my child to be interviewed	
I allow you to assign my child a pseudonym so that quotes from the interview can be used in the research report.	
I consent to have my child audio recorded during the interviews	
I consent to have my child audio recorded during the sessions	
I consent to have the data collected from this research to be published in academic journals and publications in conferences.	
I authorise the researcher to use the materials produced during the session	

_____ _____

Participant name Participant signature

Date _____

iii. Head teacher

University of BRISTOL

Consent Form

"I have read and understood the information about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions and get satisfactory answers. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any consequence. I understand who will have access to the information provided and what will happen to the data as soon as the dissertation will end. I am aware that the research is following the ethical framework used by the Graduate School of Education at Bristol University and I confirm that I am willing to take part as a volunteer participant in this research".

YES NO
(If yes, please tick the box below.)

I allow my institution to take part in your research and to provide participants	

_____ _____

Participant name Participant signature

Date _____

APPENDIX C

Name(s): Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno
Proposed research project: Bridging the intergenerational gap using technology to learn about Bristol

Proposed funder(s): CONACyT

Discussant for the ethics meeting: Aroma Hyang Kwon

Name of supervisor: Helen Manchester/ Sue Timmis

Has your supervisor seen this submitted draft of your ethics application? Y/N

Please include an outline of the project or append a short (1 page) summary:

This research project has emerged as a response to the rapid sociotechnical changes and the advent of ageing societies that seem to be related, amongst other factors, in the widening of the generational divides in the UK. The study enquires into the process of creating intergenerational relationships of young –under 21- as well as older people –aged 60 or above- living in Bristol. This will be done through an intervention that aims to enable space for dialogue in the topic of lived experiences in Bristol. By creating digital versions of oral history we will also contribute to the maintenance of an existing archive in the online mapping tool (Map your Bristol[4]).

Using the framework of Communities of Practice I will analyse what are the potentials of intergenerational encounters as nucleus to the social shaping of identities and the role that technology can play as a mediator in these relationships.

The study will attempt to identify the existing perceptions of the participants about the people in the other age group and observe the evolution of these concepts throughout the project. In the course of the study a set of activities will be designed to enhance the interactions between both age groups. The qualitative approach of Action Research, guided by a participatory ethos, will provide a deep insight in the experiences of the participants with the opportunity to develop and put into practice more participatory approaches to enable and sustain intergenerational encounters.

During the course of the study we will be co-creating digital versions of participants' histories in Map your Bristol. In addition to that, participants will be asked to keep a diary documenting their participation in the research project. These entries will later be used to encourage reflexion and will inform discussion. The ultimate goal of the study is to foster intergenerational encounters through the use of existing technology in order to contribute to a more promising intergenerational future.

The research questions that will guide the study are:

1. How does the co-creation of oral history using personal narratives affect relationships and understanding across generations?

[4] https://www.mapyourbristol.org.uk/

2. How does digital technology mediate the social shaping of identities within intergenerational relationships?

3. What are the social and technological challenges and opportunities of enabling Communities of Practice that sustain intergenerational encounters?

Having carried out an exploratory pilot I see the substantial potential of further investigating this topic. Based on the findings of this pilot I will attempt to include people's voices as much as possible following an Action Research design subscribing to a participatory ethos. The data collected through observations, focus groups and the creation of digital stories will be analysed using thematic and narrative analysis.

Also, based on this pilot I will consider for the remaining of the research project that the ethical considerations are a work in progress and in addition to the creation of this document and the establishment of specific courses of action I will still remain flexible and try to develop an "everyday ethics" approach (Banks, et al., 2013). With this in mind, I will adhere to a code of conduct that observes this principle which claims that "the 'ethical' is present in ways of being as well as acting, and in relationships and emotions, as well as conduct" (Banks et al., 2013; p. 266).

Banks et al. further suggest establishing guidelines based on ethical principles that all parties have agreed and commented on. With this purpose I will propose the following for further negotiation with participants.

1. Personal integrity: acting with honesty and inspiring trustworthiness

2. Mutual respect: respect each other

3. Inclusion: encourage participation

4. Communication: being honest and open to dialogue

In line with these I will now explain the decisions taken based on the ethical issues discussed.

Ethical issues discussed and decisions taken (see list of prompts overleaf):

1. Researcher access/ exit

Having completed the paperwork to obtain a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check I have joined an extra care home facility in which I give IT support for the residents. Through this voluntary activity I have been acquainted with the Senior Community Development worker at LinkAge, which is a charity organisation that facilitates social activities for people 55 and older. With the support of this contact I will be attending older people's clubs to talk about my research and invite people. I have also introduced myself to the Young Bristol youth club where I will join some of their activities and present my research project in order to invite young people to be part of the study. Access will be negotiated through gate-keepers and they will be asked in how to better approach the older adults as well as young people. Although, once rapport and trust has been built, the agreements will be gained with these specific groups at all times.

I will invite older people from three different communities the first one based on their interest in Oral History, the second one, based on their interest in the use of technology and the third one, a

community of older people that do not show particular inclination towards one or the other, but that are willing to engage in intergenerational activities. The younger people will be recruited based on their interests matching the older participants'. I will invite young people from local schools and from a youth centre. I intend to recruit 12 people (two pairs in each of the groups) this is with the intention to observe if any patterns emerge and to account for the possibility of drop-outs.

Once the participants have consented to take part they will be invited to an informal welcome session in which the study will be explained and they get to know each other and feel at ease. The first sessions will be focused on activities that are aimed at building rapport and a comfortable environment for everyone. By the end of the last session there will be a wrap up tea party activity carefully planned to allow participants to say goodbye and close their participation. Nevertheless, I will speak to the gatekeepers about the possibilities to continue supporting the established links between the participants in the case that they wish to do so. Parents and or guardians will be invited as well to both events.

2. Information given to participants

Before the start of the sessions participants will be given an information sheet along with a table with the description of the procedures of the sessions. In addition to that, I will explain in detail the planned activities. Participants will be provided with contact details of the researcher should they wish to get in touch regarding any question they might have or require further information.

The information given to participants will be carefully explained every time because there is a need to keep a consistent process in which they know what is being done at all times, especially regarding activities that require consent, for example when communicating the progress of the research project.

3. Participants right of withdrawal

Participants will be informed from the beginning and reminded at every stage that any participant has the right to withdraw at any given time or to request data they have provided to be withdrawn with no consequences of any kind.

4. Informed consent

The people in the project will be presented with the detailed plan of the sessions and in case they have any questions explanation will be provided until they are aware of what is expected during their participation in the study. In the case of younger participants I will ask for the parents' or guardians' permission, unless the participant is 18 years old or older. A copy of the consent form that will be given to participants, parents/guardians is attached. However, informed consent will be explained each I meet with participants, not only on first meeting; consent will be sought in a permanent basis to make sure people understand the implications of the study and they will be encouraged to think about their participation and whether the consent is still current. This will be extremely important in relation to the publication and ownership of material because we will be creating a digital archive of people's oral histories. This content will be uploaded to the online database of Map your Bristol, although it is possible to disable the content, the participants have to be aware that the production of this stories and the product will be used for analysis and will be available for anyone with internet access, as for the notes and audio-recordings collected by me I will be adhering to the agreements where consent has been granted.

5. Complaints procedure

At the outset of the study all participants will be notified that if any concerns may arise within the activities, they can speak to me and I will do my best to provide an adequate response. However, if the resolution I give them is not satisfactory, they can contact my supervisors Sue Timmis and Helen Manchester using the contact details that will be provided at the beginning of the introductory session.

6. Safety and well-being of participants/ researchers

During the design of all the activities and planning of the session I will actively engage in providing a safe environment so everyone is comfortable taking into account participants' potential vulnerabilities (e. g. mobility constraints, health hazards or threats to their physical or mental well-being). For this reason, there will be flexibility to arrange the meetings in a venue that is convenient for everyone involved. Also refreshments will be provided for all the sessions which will be arranged taking into account the participants' availability.

7. Privacy/ confidentiality

Only I and my supervisors will have access to the information, people will be assigned different pseudonyms and no sensitive information will be released so participants can keep their privacy and be unable to be identified. For this reason, I will speak to the young and older people about 'confidentiality' because it is likely they will be sharing personal information with each other. For a start I will propose a system of communication on a need-to-know basis. Then, I will set up with participants a number of ground rules to avoid disclosing sensitive information.

8. Data collection

At the beginning participants will be invited to an informal session to build rapport and ask any questions about the project. Before the activities they will be briefly interviewed aiming at collecting valuable information about their experience and background. There will be 10 sessions –spread across the span of 6 months- in which participants will do different activities. The first sessions will be to introduce participants and start building rapport. In the following sessions, participants will start sharing stories around Bristol. Following these sessions participants will select the stories they want to digitise and the following weeks will be spent uploading the generated content to the platform of Know your Bristol. The last sessions, participants will reflect on the process of participating in this study. In the last session they will be part of a focus group to further investigate their experiences and reflections on the process they went through. Both will be semi-structured to allow participants to freely express and develop their experiences.

Data will be collected by observations, audio recordings during the activities. Because I will be observing and facilitating the sessions, the written fieldnotes will be made afterwards. In addition to that, people will be asked to keep a journal with reflections about their experience after each session. Audio recordings will also be made during the initial interviews and at the time of the focus group in the end. The entries of the journals that will be produced will serve as a reflective exercise that will generate information to discuss during the focus group at the end.

9. Data analysis

Derived from the nature of the project, the sessions will be developing in relation to the progress that is made in the consecutive sessions with a focus on the participants' input and reflections. In the end Thematic analysis of the sessions and the data collected from people will be carried out to further the lines of research that will have been set until then. In addition to that, there will be a narrative analysis on the oral history that will be created and the journals created by participants.

The analysis will be carried out in parallel with the sessions and I will attempt to use it to inform the activities as the sessions are progressing.

10. Data storage

Data will be securely stored in a password protected computer which only I will access.

11. Data Protection Act

All considerations about privacy and confidentiality will be followed as well as the pursuit of ensuring that participants cannot be traced or tracked in relation to the information published within the study. Both data collection and storage will meet the requirements of the Data Protection Act (1998).

12. Feedback

Participants will be fully informed throughout the process about what will happen to their data. In addition to that, as the sessions are running I will be doing the analysis. Since participants will be asked to produce a reflexive journal based on their experience in the study I intend to inform my analysis taking into account this reflexive exercise. After the focus group I will send participants a report, and in case they request it, a transcript with the intention of securing their consent to proceed with the analysis and to quote participants.

13. Responsibilities to colleagues/ academic community

Quality of the research will be ensured and ethical procedures followed thoroughly to produce relevant results that enrich the existing body of knowledge. Additionally, comprehensive follow-up to show the links with previous research will be carried out. The ethical guidelines this research is going to follow are those defined by the Graduate School of Education of the University of Bristol. Previous ethical discussion with fellow researchers will be part of the procedure, along with dialogue with my thesis supervisors.

14. Reporting of research

Pertinent report of the research findings within the thesis and if possible also consider the opportunity to publish in journals the relevant findings.

If you feel you need to discuss any issue further, or to highlight difficulties, please contact the GSoE's ethics co-ordinators who will suggest possible ways forward.

Signed: (Researcher) Signed: (Discussant)

Date:

APPENDIX D

What do you get out of it?

* The opportunity to meet new people

* Getting to know your city from a different perspective

* Sharing your Bristol experiences in a friendly environment

* Leave a digital legacy

* A chance to win £50

About me

Hello!

I am Diana Erandi Barrera Moreno. I am a PhD candidate at the University of Bristol. My research interests (in no particular order) are:

* Intergenerational learning
* Participatory research
* Information technologies and education
* Oral history

Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions.

Contact

Graduate School of Education
Office 3.03
35 Berkeley Square
Bristol UK BS8 1JA
db12354@bristol.ac.uk

Bridging the **Intergenerational** gap using **technology** to **learn** about **Bristol**

An invitation

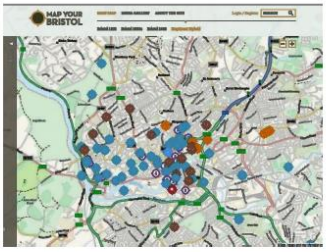
What is this research about?

The aim of my research is to investigate how we can strengthen the links between older adults and young people in Bristol through sharing our stories of the city.

Why you?

I am inviting enthusiastic young people (under 21) & older adults (+60) living in Bristol who are willing to discover alongside me new ways of conducting research, creating history and sharing our Bristol experiences.

"The activities were fun and interesting."
—Paul (Participant from previous phase)



How?

Activities will be done in a series of mixed-age group meetings where you will share your Bristol stories. These stories will be digitized and later uploaded in an interactive online map of the city.

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire (***Max 20 min)***

This questionnaire will help me understand you better and to plan ahead our activities for the following sessions.

* Name:

* Pseudonym:

* How long have you lived in Bristol?

* Select the age group you belong to: Young person (<21 years) / Older adult (>50 years)

1. How often do you use digital technology (computers, laptops, mobile phones, tablets)?

Everyday	More than once a week	Once a week	More than once a month	Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Less than once a year

2. Please select the option that better represents how you feel about the following statement:

I feel confident when using digital technology (computers, laptops, mobile phones, tablets)?

Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree

3. For what purpose do you use digital technology (computers, laptops, mobile phones, tablets)? [Please tick all that apply]

☼ Personal communication ☼ Watching videos ☼ Playing games

☼ Listening to music ☼ Watching TV ☼ Schoolwork

☼ Business (please specify): _____ ☼ Shopping

☼ Other (please specify): _____

4. Please look at the pictures of page 1 and 2 and answer the following questions:

4a. Who is in these pictures?

Page 1	Page 2

4b. What do you ***think*** about the people in these pictures?

Page 1	Page 2

4c. Are you regularly in contact with people like those shown in the pictures? In which ways?

Page 1	Page 2

4d. How often do you spend time with people from the age-group shown in the pictures?

Page 1						
More than once a week	Once a week	More than once a month	Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Less than once a year

Page 2						
More than once a week	Once a week	More than once a month	Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Less than once a year

4f. How often do you spend time with people from the age-group shown in the pictures who are NOT in your family?

Page 1						
More than once a week	Once a week	More than once a month	Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Less than once a year

Page 2						
More than once a week	Once a week	More than once a month	Once a month	Every few months	Once a year	Less than once a year

3d. How do you ***feel*** about the people in the pictures?

Page 1	Page 2

3e. How do you feel about seeing these people in the street?

Page 1	Page 2

1. Think of young people (<21 years old) who live in Bristol. Select all the characteristics that match your perception of them in general.

affable	agreeable	annoying	approachable	boring	careless
cautious	cheerful	clever	conceited	considerate	courteous
crafty	crazy	cruel	cynical	dependable	direct
disagreeable	discreet	dishonest	disobedient	disrespectful	dumb
earnest	eccentric	enthusiastic	extroverted	fair	fearful
fearless	friendly	frivolous	funny	generous	glum
grumpy	happy	helpful	helpless	honest	humble
hypocritical	immature	inoffensive	insensitive	interesting	introverted
kind	lazy	likeable	lonely	loud	loveable
lovely	loving	mature	mean	modest	naive
normal	obedient	obnoxious	outgoing	outspoken	polite
prejudiced	proper	quiet	radical	reckless	reliable
reserved	respectful	rude	sad	sane	sensitive
serious	shallow	shy	silly	sincere	smart
sociable	strong	tense	timid	tolerant	unapproachable
unfair	unfriendly	unfriendly	unhelpful	uninteresting	unlikeable
unreliable	unsociable	weak	wicked		

2. Think of older adults (>50 years old) who live in Bristol. Select all the characteristics that match your perception of them in general.

affable	agreeable	annoying	approachable	boring	careless
cautious	cheerful	clever	conceited	considerate	courteous
crafty	crazy	cruel	cynical	dependable	direct
disagreeable	discreet	dishonest	disobedient	disrespectful	dumb
earnest	eccentric	enthusiastic	extroverted	fair	fearful
fearless	friendly	frivolous	funny	generous	glum
grumpy	happy	helpful	helpless	honest	humble
hypocritical	immature	inoffensive	insensitive	interesting	introverted
kind	lazy	likeable	lonely	loud	loveable
lovely	loving	mature	mean	modest	naive
normal	obedient	obnoxious	outgoing	outspoken	polite
prejudiced	proper	quiet	radical	reckless	reliable
reserved	respectful	rude	sad	sane	sensitive
serious	shallow	shy	silly	sincere	smart
sociable	strong	tense	timid	tolerant	unapproachable
unfair	unfriendly	unfriendly	unhelpful	uninteresting	unlikeable
unreliable	unsociable	weak	wicked		

3. What do you think will result from this project?

4. What do you want as a result from this project?

1. How would you like me to get in touch with you regarding this project? (Please fill all that apply)

Email:

Phone calls: Text messages:

Whatsapp:

THANK YOU ☺ !!!

APPENDIX F

FINDINGS

Finding	Description
1	The prevalence of existing relationships and ways of relating influenced the formation of new intergenerational relationships.
2	As a result of the different life-experiences and personalities, tensions arise that warrant negotiation should participants wish to pursue a cordial intergenerational relationship.
3	There are difficulties in this process related to stereotypes and attitudes about the age-groups which need to be discussed so that the issues can be overcome and so the group can encourage critical engagement and learning.
4	It takes time and different approaches to develop new intergenerational relationships, and place-based storytelling is helpful to build rapport among generations.
4.a	Co-creating place-based stories yields better results in comparison to just sharing stories, as the foundations of the relationship are stronger.
5	Storytelling can be understood as a boundary object that brings together two (or more) CoP; it can be used to start a practice that defines a new Community of Practice.
6	Technologies as boundary objects have a role in helping the negotiation of meaning, and they can act as objects of negotiation in and of themselves. Using technology can help or hinder the intergenerational encounters and the storytelling practices, but more important than the technology is the task.
7	The importance of facilitating intergenerational activities. In combination with what technologies are used, mediation of exchanges and responsiveness is key to successful outcomes when running an intergenerational intervention.
8	Negotiating social identities. Considering participants' and researcher's background helps to design activities and build stronger relationships.
9	Technological considerations. Technology as a tool needs to be adapted to suit the purpose of the activities and there are different aspects that intervene, e.g. access, know-how, and reliability of the infrastructure.
10	Methodological considerations. Using AR with a participatory approach has a number of implications that need to be considered.
11	Theoretical considerations. There are conceptual guidelines that can help in designing an intergenerational place-based storytelling intervention for the emergence of an intergenerational CoP.